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ABSTRACT

Reported are responses to a questionnaire circulated by the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP) to member organizations concerning teachers and the political process. Responses were prepared by twentyfour national teachers' organizations on questions grouped into three categories: the role of the teacher as an individual; the role of teachers' organizations, both national and international; and the position of the WCOTP. Category I, "Teachers as Individuals," solicited reactions on (1) the relationship between the part played by teachers in political life and their role in the school, (2) teachers' social responsibilities outside the school, (3) status of the teacher as citizen, (4) teaching of the facts of political life within the school, and (5) protection of the teacher in the fulfillment of citizen's rights and responsibilities. Category II, "The Role of Teachers' Organizations," sought information on (6) teachers and educational policy, (7) teachers and social policy in general, (8) balance between the majority view and benefits of unity, and (9) the link between syndical and political action. Category III, "The Position of the WCOTP," sought direction on (10) policy statements and their application, (11) definition of "political" issues, and (12) WCOTP support of its member organizations. (MJB)

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BERLIN

WCOTP
CMOPE
'75

Teachers and the Political Process

Les Enseignants et le Processus Politique

Los Maestros y El Proceso Politico

XXIV Assembly of delegates
30 July - 6 August

XXIV Assemblée des délégués
30 juillet - 6 août

XXIV Asamblea de delegados
30 julio - 6 agosto

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SP012 683

World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession

Confédération Mondiale des Organisations de la Profession Enseignante

Confederación Mundial de Organizaciones de Profesionales de la Enseñanza

National Reports on the theme for 1975
in their original languages

Rapports Nationaux sur le thème de 1975
dans leurs langues originales

Informes Nacionales sobre el tema de 1975
en los idiomas originales

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THE QUESTIONNAIRE

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER AS AN INDIVIDUAL

In the first instance, we seek your organisation's or your society's accepted definitions of the rights and responsibilities of the individual teacher within the political process - or both if they are divergent. In order to facilitate synthesis of the national reports, we would appreciate your views on five issues in particular:

1. The relationship between the part played by the teacher in political life and his or her role in the school

The teacher is a citizen, with all the civic and personal rights that this implies. The teacher must teach as objectively as possible. How in your national situation are these two apparently conflicting roles reconciled? Are teachers

(a) encouraged to take part freely in political life;

(b) restricted in their rights to do so; or

(c) permitted to do so within certain limits?

For example, can teachers stand for political office locally or nationally whilst continuing to teach? Must they resign in order to stand for office? Can they take leave and return to teaching if not elected?. If elected to political office, locally or nationally, can they continue to teach or must they leave teaching?

2. The teacher and his social responsibilities outside the school

Within societies in which party political life is restricted or non-existent, teachers still have social responsibilities - and may in fact have even more than within a party political system. To what extent are teachers encouraged to play their role in society or to remain outside of the public life in order to ensure that their teaching is "independent"? Is it the responsibility of the teacher to reflect within the school the existing society or through his work within and without the school to endeavour to change the society in the interests of the citizens of tomorrow (his or her students today)?

3. The status of the teacher as a respected and influential citizen

Within a newly independent and developing society teachers can be a major force for national development: no single group of people is more widespread in their influence, being found in every town and village throughout the land. In your national situation, are teachers enabled or encouraged to realise their potential influence or is this influence deliberately or unintentionally restricted? Do teachers have the responsibility of explaining social and political life, outlining problems faced by the government, and preparing for future trends? If so, are they accorded the respect needed to fulfil this role effectively? Are they involved sufficiently in the evolution of national and local policy so that they can be committed to its implementation?

4. The objective teaching of the facts of political life within the school

If the students of today are to be informed and effective citizens of tomorrow, they must have knowledge and experience of the political process. This is of particular significance in those countries which have set 18 as the age for entry into political life (voting rights, for example). Are teachers encouraged to discuss political life

(a) through social studies within the curriculum;

(b) through the organisation of extra-curricular activities (debating societies, model parliaments, meetings with politicians, etc.?

Is the curriculum determined centrally by the government and imposed on the schools or is it left to the local and/or school level? If centrally determined, is this done by educationists with strong teacher representation? If a teacher finds an existing textbook inappropriate can he disregard it or must it be followed?

Are teachers expected to present to the students only the official explanations of national political life; are they encouraged to engage in critical discussion with their students or are they free to teach politics only to the degree that the society does not object?
Are students in your schools active in the political sphere? Does such activity create any problems for your teachers?

5. The protection of the teacher in the fulfilment of his or her rights and responsibilities

The teacher can be in a delicate position in striking the needed balance between his freedom as a citizen and his responsibility as an educator; between his presentation of the traditional values of society and his development of the critical faculties of his students. How far do the educational authorities defend the teacher in the exercise of his rights and responsibilities? To what extent is this considered an important role of the teachers' organisation?
Can you give significant examples from your national experience where either teachers have been victimised in their endeavours to play their full part as educator/citizens or have been successfully defended by the authorities/the teachers' organisation?

THE ROLE OF TEACHERS' ORGANISATIONS - NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

Our initial concern here is to analyse the different conceptions of the national member organisations under four headings:

6. Teachers and educational policy

It is accepted by national teachers' organisations that they should be involved in the determination and implementation of educational policy. In this respect, all national teachers' organisations are involved in the political process. The question which arises is how far can the organisation extend the scope of its "political"*or syndical action to achieve the desired educational purpose?
Can it seek overall political change because such change is a necessary pre-condition of change in educational policy?
Should it include the right to "industrial" action in the form of sanctions and/or strikes?
Is any attempt to convince the public that the government is wrong on a particular educational issue seen by the public or by the government as a direct attack on the government in general? If so, what steps can be taken to counteract this interpretation?
Finally, in what instances, known to you, have open confrontations or behind-the-scenes negotiations been most effective as means of political action producing results in the short or long term?

7. Teachers and social policy in general

The scope of educational issues is also open to interpretation by the general public, the government and teachers' organisations, thus giving rise to potential disagreement among these groups. Issues of child labour, health services, military conscription, pollution, sex education, discrimination, conservation, etc. can be seen by any or all of the groups either as issues directly affecting education or as social issues of importance, but outside the scope of the work of national teachers' organisations.

Can you give examples of issues which, though not strictly educational, you have considered sufficiently school-related to warrant direct action by your organisation?
What form did the action take and how was it received by the public and the government?

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* "Political" is used in the overall sense and not the party-political sense.

8. The balance between the furtherance of majority views and the benefits of unity

The degree of "political" action taken by the organisation may be related not only to the importance of the issues concerned but to (a) the effect of the action on the continued existence of the organisation, or (b) the internal unity of the organisation. There are clear examples where organisations have suffered the consequences as a result of pursuing majority views and the question is raised - is it worth the price?
In other instances, organisations have imposed limits on themselves, despite majority views, in order to preserve their strength for future struggles.
Has your organisation defined the limits on its political action with either or both of these objectives in mind?

9. The link between syndical and political action

Syndical action is inevitably political in the strict sense of the word. An issue frequently discussed is how far syndical action should be carried on in direct or indirect association with other political forces, in particular political parties. An extension of this question is - how far should the leaders of a syndical body be identified with such political forces?
Is any restriction on such association an infringement of the social rights of the leaders as individuals or is it preferable for them to abstain from such associations in the interests of the organisation?
Does association of the organisation and/or its leaders with national forces outside the organisation strengthen its action or weaken it?
What is the practice of your organisation in this regard?

THE POSITION OF WCOTP

As an extension of the discussion on the role of teachers' organisations at the national level, we seek your views on the position of WCOTP at the international level. We are faced with the situation that some of our members have clearer political lines than others. Some operate in "open" and others in "closed" societies. Some consider that an international body should be "neutral" (even when they themselves are "political"), whereas others insist on a clear political definition of the role of WCOTP in evaluating the value of affiliation. Three issues seem worthy of consideration:

- the determination and application of policy statements which can be accepted by all members or a substantial majority thereof;
- the definition of what constitutes "political" issues;
- the nature of WCOTP support for its members within the national political context.

10. Policy statements and their application

As WCOTP seeks to influence international inter-governmental bodies,* it needs policies on many educational and education-related issues. Inevitably such statements may be "weakened" by the need to be acceptable to a wide variety of national organisations (such acceptability being their "strength"). More homogeneous forms of international organisations can take firmer stands on individual issues but cannot thereby make the same claim as WCOTP in respect of comprehensive representation of the teaching profession as a whole.
Is the present form of WCOTP the best for its political action or should the Confederation determine more doctrinaire policies acceptable to the majority of its members even if this means strong opposition or even perhaps disaffiliation of those members who cannot accept such policies?

11. Definition of "political" issues

In the past, the WCOTP Assemblies have taken a more or less strict interpretation of what constitutes a political issue. They have, on occasion, even limited action on an educational issue when its context seemed too political. More recently, a broader interpretation has been emerging. In the first instance, it was agreed that the Secretariat should circulate protest statements received from members on major international issues, without itself taking a position. Secondly, it was agreed that the Secretariat could issue general political statements on issues raised without commenting on the specific case. Thirdly, the scope of such statements was enlarged by Nairobi resolution to include the right of people to auto-determination, opposition to nuclear testing, and the use of force to resolve disputes and "the use of the minority without the consent of the majority", and, finally, the Singapore Assembly adopted a resolution on a particular national situation (Chile).

To many teachers' organisations issues which may appear political to others are seen by them as moral issues. The "political" issue of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa is a "moral" issue to all our members. However, in other instances, the distinction is not so easy. In recent years, member organisations have raised with us the "moral" issues of the effect on schools of armed conflict in Vietnam, Israel, the Arab States, and Cyprus; the December 1972 United States bombardment of North Vietnam; intellectual genocide in Burundi; the French nuclear tests in the South Pacific; the effects of external economic imperialism in Colombia
Is the "political"-"moral" distinction too biased and vague to be workable and, if so, how should the limits of WCOTP's action in situations of concern to many or all of its members be defined?

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* Unesco, ILO, OECD, EEC, Council of Europe, SEAMES, OAS, OAU, etc.

12. WCOTP support for its members

WCOTP is frequently asked by national members to support them in protests at the national level against government actions of which they disapprove. Should WCOTP support such actions in all cases, without consideration of the issues involved?
Should WCOTP only support such issues after full investigation (including study of the government's case)?.
The present policy is to support the national member on the basis of previous WCOTP Assembly decisions or of fundamental principles - teacher involvement in the determination of policy (i.e. we can protest against any educational policy which is introduced without consultation with the national teacher organisation); or freedom of association (i.e. we can protest against any attack on this freedom regardless of the views of the teachers' organisation).
Should the basis for WCOTP intervention in national disputes be more clearly defined?
When we take action it is in the name of all members of the Confederation. Accordingly, in taking such action, we are very conscious of our responsibility to all members and of the need for widespread consent. Can you cite instances where WCOTP has overstepped the bounds of its responsibility or has failed to act forcefully enough?

* * * * * * * * * * *

LE QUESTIONNAIRE

LE ROLE DE L'ENSEIGNANT EN TANT QU'INDIVIDU

Tout d'abord, nous aimerions savoir quelles sont les définitions des droits et des responsabilités de l'enseignant à titre individuel dans le cadre du processus politique qui sont acceptées par votre organisation et votre société, ou par l'une et par l'autre s'il y a des divergences. Afin de faciliter la synthèse des rapports nationaux, nous aimerions connaître votre opinion sur cinq points en particulier :

1. La relation entre le rôle de l'enseignant dans la vie politique et son rôle à l'école

L'enseignant est un citoyen possédant tous les droits civiques et personnels qui en découlent. L'enseignant doit enseigner aussi objectivement que possible. Dans la situation de votre pays, comment ces deux rôles apparemment antagonistes sont-ils conciliés ? Les enseignants sont-ils

a) encouragés à prendre part librement à la vie politique ?

b) restreints dans l'exercice de ce droit, ou

c) autorisés à l'exercer dans certaines limites ?

Par exemple, les enseignants peuvent-ils briguer des postes politiques sur le plan local ou national tout en continuant à enseigner ? Doivent-ils démissionner s'ils veulent se présenter à des élections ? Peuvent-ils prendre un congé et reprendre leur enseignement s'ils ne sont pas élus ? S'ils sont élus à un poste politique sur le plan local ou national, peuvent-ils continuer à enseigner ou doivent-ils abandonner l'enseignement ?

2. L'enseignant et ses responsabilités sociales hors de l'école

Dans les sociétés où la vie politique des partis est restreinte ou nulle, les enseignants assument tout de même des responsabilités sociales et peuvent, en fait, en avoir encore plus que dans un système politique à plusieurs partis. Dans quelle mesure les enseignants sont-ils encouragés à jouer un rôle dans la société ou à demeurer en dehors de la vie publique afin d'assurer un enseignement qui soit "indépendant" ? L'enseignant est-il chargé de refléter à l'école la société existante ou, par son travail à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur de l'école, de s'efforcer de changer la société dans l'intérêt des citoyens de demain (ses élèves d'aujourd'hui) ?

3. La position de l'enseignant en tant que citoyen respecté et influent

Dans une société nouvellement indépendante et en voie de développement, les enseignants peuvent être une force majeure pour le développement national : nul groupe de personnes n'exerce une influence plus étendue, qui se fait sentir dans chaque ville et dans chaque village, dans tout le pays. Dans votre situation nationale, les enseignants ont-ils la possibilité, ou sont-ils encouragés à exercer leur influence potentielle, ou bien cette influence est-elle restreinte, délibérément ou non ? Les enseignants sont-ils chargés d'expliquer la vie sociale et politique, de décrire les problèmes que rencontre le Gouvernement et de préparer l'évolution future ? Si tel est le cas, sont-ils traités avec le respect dont ils ont besoin pour remplir efficacement ce rôle ? Participent-ils suffisamment à l'élaboration de la politique nationale et locale pour assumer une responsabilité dans sa mise en oeuvre ?

4. L'enseignement objectif des faits de la vie politique à l'école

Pour que les élèves d'aujourd'hui soient les citoyens informés et efficaces de demain, ils doivent avoir la connaissance et l'expérience du processus politique. Ce point est particulièrement important dans les pays qui ont fixé à 18 ans l'âge de l'entrée dans la vie politique (droit de vote, par exemple). Les enseignants sont-ils encouragés à discuter de la vie politique

a) dans le cadre de l'étude des questions sociales inscrites au programme;

b) par l'organisation d'activités extra-scolaires (groupes de discussion, assemblées parlementaires modèles, réunions avec des politiciens, etc.) ?

Le programme d'études est-il fixé par les autorités centrales et imposé aux écoles ou relève-t-il du niveau local ou de l'école ? S'il est fixé par les autorités centrales, est-ce sous la responsabilité de spécialistes de l'éducation avec une forte représentation d'enseignants ? Si un enseignant trouve qu'un manuel scolaire existant n'est pas approprié, peut-il l'abandonner ou doit-il le suivre ?

Les enseignants sont-ils présumés ne présenter aux élèves que la version officielle de la vie politique nationale ? Sont-ils encouragés à engager une discussion critique avec leurs élèves ou n'ont-ils le droit d'enseigner la politique que dans la mesure où la société ne s'y oppose pas ? Les élèves de vos écoles sont-ils actifs dans le domaine politique ? Cette activité pose-t-elle des problèmes pour vos enseignants ?

5. La protection de l'enseignant dans l'exercice de ses droits et responsabilités

L'enseignant peut se trouver dans une position délicate pour arriver à l'équilibre nécessaire entre sa liberté en tant que citoyen et sa responsabilité en tant qu'éducateur, entre sa présentation des valeurs traditionnelles de la société et son effort pour développer le sens critique de ses élèves. Jusqu'à quel point les autorités éducatives défendent-elles l'enseignant dans l'exercice de ses droits et responsabilités ? Dans quelle mesure cette défense est-elle considérée comme un rôle important de l'organisation d'enseignants ? Pouvez-vous donner des exemples significatifs, tirés de l'expérience de votre pays, où des enseignants ont été soit victimes des efforts qu'ils ont faits pour jouer tout leur rôle comme éducateur et citoyen, soit défendus avec succès par les autorités ou par leur organisation ?

LE ROLE DES ORGANISATIONS NATIONALES ET INTERNATIONALES D'ENSEIGNANTS

Notre objet initial ici est d'analyser les différentes conceptions des organisations membres nationaux dans le cadre de quatre rubriques :

6. Les enseignants et la politique éducative

Un point accepté par les organisations nationales d'enseignants est qu'elles devraient participer à l'élaboration et à la mise en oeuvre de la politique éducative. A cet égard, toutes les organisations nationales d'enseignants participent au processus politique. La question qui se pose est de savoir jusqu'où l'organisation peut étendre la portée de son action "politique"* ou syndicale pour atteindre la finalité éducative désirée ?

Peut-elle rechercher le changement politique global parce que ce changement est une condition préalable indispensable au changement de la politique éducative ? Doit-elle avoir le droit d'agir sur les relations du travail par des sanctions et/ou des grèves ? Toute tentative visant à convaincre l'opinion publique que les autorités sont dans l'erreur sur une question d'éducation particulière est-elle considérée par le public ou par les autorités comme une attaque directe contre ces autorités en général ? Si tel est le cas, quelles mesures peuvent-elles être prises pour contrecarrer cette interprétation ? Enfin, dans quels cas, connus de vous, des confrontations ouvertes ou des négociations en coulisses ont-elles été le plus efficaces comme moyen d'action politique pour produire des résultats à court terme ou à long terme ?

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* Le terme "politique" est utilisé ici dans son sens global et non dans le sens de politique de parti.

7. Les enseignants et la politique sociale en général

La portée des questions d'éducation est également susceptible d'interprétation de la part du grand public, des autorités et des organisations d'enseignants, ce qui peut être une source de désaccord entre ces différents groupes. Des questions telles que le travail des enfants, les services de santé, le service militaire, la pollution, l'éducation sexuelle, la discrimination, la conservation, etc., peuvent être considérées par l'un ou l'autre de ces groupes soit comme des questions touchant directement l'éducation soit comme des questions sociales importantes mais n'entrant pas dans la sphère d'activité des organisations nationales d'enseignants.

Pouvez-vous donner des exemples de questions qui, bien que n'étant pas strictement du domaine de l'éducation, ont été considérées par vous comme touchant suffisamment à l'école pour justifier une action directe de la part de votre organisation ? Quelle forme l'action a-t-elle prise et comment a-t-elle été reçue par le public et les autorités ?

8. L'équilibre entre la promotion des vues de la majorité et les avantages de l'unité

L'intensité de l'action "politique" engagée par l'organisation peut dépendre non seulement de l'importance des questions en jeu, mais a) de l'effet de l'action pour la survie de l'organisation, ou b) de l'unité interne de l'organisation. Il y a des exemples probants de cas où des organisations ont souffert d'avoir suivi les vues de la majorité et on peut se demander si cela en vaut la peine. Dans d'autres cas, les organisations ont imposé elles-mêmes des limites, en dépit des vues de la majorité, afin de préserver leur puissance pour des luttes futures.

Votre organisation a-t-elle fixé les limites de son action politique en songeant à l'un ou l'autre de ces objectifs ou aux deux ?

9. Le lien entre l'action syndicale et l'action politique

L'action syndicale est inévitablement politique au sens strict du terme. Une question fréquemment discutée est de savoir jusqu'où l'action syndicale peut être poursuivie en association directe ou indirecte avec d'autres forces politiques, en particulier avec les partis politiques. On peut pousser cette question plus loin et se demander jusqu'à quel point les chefs d'un organe syndical devraient être identifiés avec ces forces politiques.

Toute restriction à cette association est-elle un empiètement sur les droits sociaux des dirigeants en tant qu'individus ou est-il préférable pour eux de s'abstenir de ces associations dans l'intérêt de l'organisation ? L'association de l'organisation et/ou de ses chefs avec des forces nationales extérieures à l'organisation renforce-t-elle son action ou l'affaiblit-elle ? Quelle est la pratique de votre organisation à cet égard ?

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LA POSITION DE LA CMOPE

Comme prolongement de la discussion concernant le rôle des organisations d'enseignants au niveau national, nous aimerions connaître vos vues en ce qui concerne la position de la CMOPE au niveau international. Nous nous trouvons dans une position telle que certains de nos membres ont une ligne politique plus nette que d'autres. Certains fonctionnent dans des sociétés "ouvertes" et d'autres, dans des sociétés "fermées". Certains considèrent qu'un organisme international doit être "neutre" (même lorsqu'ils sont eux-mêmes "politiques"), alors que d'autres insistent sur une définition politique claire du rôle de la CMOPE lorsqu'ils évaluent la valeur de leur affiliation. Trois questions semblent mériter de retenir l'attention :

- l'élaboration et l'application de déclarations de politique qui puissent être acceptées par tous les membres ou par une majorité confortable des membres;
- la définition de ce que sont les questions "politiques";
- la nature du soutien apporté par la CMOPE à ses membres dans le contexte politique de leur pays respectif.

10. Les déclarations de politique et leur application

Etant donné que la CMOPE cherche à influencer des organismes intergouvernementaux internationaux,* elle a besoin d'une politique sur un grand nombre de questions d'éducation ou apparentées à l'éducation. Il est inévitable que ces déclarations soient affaiblies par la nécessité d'être acceptables pour des organisations nationales extrêmement variées (cette acceptabilité étant cependant leur "force"). Des formes plus homogènes d'organisations internationales sont en mesure de prendre des positions plus fermes sur des questions précises, mais ne peuvent en conséquence revendiquer comme la CMOPE la représentativité complète de l'ensemble de la profession enseignante. La forme actuelle de la CMOPE est-elle celle qui convient le mieux à son action politique, ou bien la Confédération devrait-elle élaborer des politiques plus doctrinaires, acceptables pour la majorité de ses membres, même si elle doit se heurter à une forte opposition ou même risquer de voir démissionner ceux de ses membres qui ne pourraient les accepter ?

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* UNESCO, OIT, OCDE, CEE, Conseil de l'Europe, SEAMES, OAE, OUA, etc.

11. Définition des questions "politiques"

Dans le passé, les Assemblées de la CMOPE ont adopté une interprétation plus ou moins stricte de ce qui constitue une question politique. A l'occasion, elles ont même limité leur action sur une question d'éducation lorsque le contexte en semblait trop politique. Plus récemment, une interprétation plus large s'est fait jour. Tout d'abord, il a été convenu que le Secrétariat diffuserait les déclarations de protest ation qu'il recevrait de ses membres sur de grandes questions internationales, mais sans prendre position. Ensuite, il a été convenu que le secrétariat pourrait faire paraître des déclarations politiques générales sur des questions soulevées sans faire d'observation sur le cas précis. Enfin, la portée de ces déclarations a été élargie par une résolution de Nairobi de façon à englober le droit des peuples à l'autodétermination et l'opposition aux essais nucléaires, à l'usage de la force pour résoudre les différends et à"l'emploi de la minorité sans le consentement de la majorité" et, plus récemment, par une résolution adoptée à Singapour dans le cas d'une situation nationale particulière (Chili).

Un grand nombre d'organisations d'enseignants peut considérer comme politiques des questions que d'autres tiennent pour morales. La question "politique" de la ségrégation raciale en République Sud-Africaine est pour tous nos membres une question "morale". Cependant, dans d'autres cas, la distinction n'est pas aussi aisée. Ces dernières années, des organisations membres ont soulevé devant nous les questions d'ordre "moral" de l'effet sur les écoles du conflit armé au Viet-Nam, en Israël, dans les Etats arabes et à Chypre, du bombardement du Nord-Viet-Nam par les Etats-Unis en décembre 1972, du génocide des intellectuels au Burundi, des essais nucléaires français dans le Pacifique Sud et des effets de l'impérialisme économique étranger en Colombie.

La distinction entre ce qui est d'ordre "politique" et ce qui est d'ordre "moral" est-elle trop arbitraire et trop vague pour avoir une utilité pratique et, si tel est le cas, comment faudrait-il définir les limites de l'action de la CMOPE dans des situations qui préoccupent un grand nombre ou la totalité de ses membres ?

12. Le soutien de la CMOPE à ses membres

Des membres nationaux demandent fréquemment à la CMOPE de les soutenir dans les protestations qu'ils élèvent au niveau national contre des actions de leur gouvernement qu'ils désapprouvent. La CMOPE devrait-elle les soutenir dans tous les cas, sans considération des questions en jeu ? Ou bien devrait-elle ne les soutenir qu'après une enquête approfondie (y compris l'étude du dossier du gouvernement) ?

La politique actuelle de la CMOPE est de soutenir le membre national en se fondant sur des décisions antérieures de ses Assemblées ou sur des principes fondamentaux, tels que la participation des enseignants à l'établissement de la politique (nous pouvons, par exemple, protester contre toute politique éducative qui est mise en place sans consultation de l'organisation nationale d'enseignants), ou la liberté syndicale (nous pouvons, par exemple, protester chaque fois que cette liberté est attaquée, quelles que soient les vues de l'organisation d'enseignants).

La base de l'intervention de la CMOPE dans les différends de caractère national devrait-elle être définie plus clairement ? Lorsque nous agissons, c'est au nom de tous les membres de la Confédération. En conséquence, lorsque nous intervenons, nous sommes très conscients de notre responsabilité à l'égard de tous nos membres et de la nécessité d'avoir largement leur approbation. Pouvez-vous citer des cas dans lesquels la CMOPE a dépassé les limites de sa responsabilité ou n'a pas agi avec suffisamment de vigueur ?

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FUNCION DEL MAESTRO EN EL PLANO INDIVIDUAL

En primer lugar, nos gustaría disponer de las definiciones aceptadas por la organización o la sociedad a que pertenece cada maestro acerca de los derechos y responsabilidades del maestro, a título individual, en el proceso político -o por ambas, si son distintas. Con objeto de facilitar la síntesis de los informes nacionales, le agradeceremos que nos exponga especialmente su opinión sobre cinco puntos:

1. Relación entre la parte que desempeña el maestro en la vida política y su función en la escuela

El maestro es un ciudadano con todos los derechos cívicos y personales que ello implica. Por otra parte, tiene que enseñar lo más objetivamente posible. ¿Cómo se concilian esas dos funciones, aparentemente contradictorias, en la situación nacional de ese país?

a) ¿Se estimula a los maestros a tomar parte con entera libertad en la vida política?;

b) ¿Se limita sus derechos para hacerlo?;

c) ¿Se les permite hacerlo con ciertas restricciones?

Por ejemplo, ¿pueden los maestros presentarse para desempeñar puestos políticos locales o nacionales y continuar enseñando? ¿Tienen que dimitir si se quieren presentar a un cargo político? ¿Pueden abandonar la enseñanza y volver a ella si no son elegidos? Y si son elegidos para un cargo político local o nacional ¿pueden continuar enseñando o tienen que abandonar la enseñanza?

2. El maestro y sus responsabilidades sociales fuera de la escuela

En las sociedades en las que la vida política de los partidos es restringida o inexistente, los maestros tienen también responsabilidades sociales, y de hecho pueden inclusive ser más acentuadas en un sistema político de partidos. ¿Hasta qué punto se estimula a los maestros a desempeñar la parte que les corresponde o a quedarse al margen de la vida pública, para garantizar que su enseñanza es independiente? ¿Es responsabilidad del maestro reflejar en la escuela la sociedad existente o, por medio de su trabajo en la escuela y fuera de ella, tratar de cambiar la sociedad en interés de los ciudadanos de mañana (que son los estudiantes de hoy)?

3. Condición del maestro como ciudadano respetado e influyente

En una sociedad en desarrollo de reciente independencia el maestro puede ser una fuerza mayor para el desarrollo nacional. Su influencia es mucho más amplia que la de cualquier otro grupo de ciudadanos, puesto que hay maestros en todas las ciudades y pueblos de un país. Dada la situación nacional de su país ¿pueden los maestros utilizar su influencia potencial y se les estimula a ello o, por el contrario, deliberada o involuntariamente se coarta esa influencia? ¿Es responsabilidad del maestro explicar la vida política y social, describiendo los problemas con que se enfrenta el gobierno y preparando a los estudiantes para las tendencias futuras? Si así es ¿se les considera debidamente para cumplir esa función con eficacia? ¿Tienen en la evolución de la política local y nacional la suficiente participación para que se sientan comprometidos a aplicarla?

4. Enseñanza objetiva de los hechos de la vida política en la escuela

Para que los estudiantes de hoy sean mañana ciudadanos competentes e informados, tienen que tener conocimiento y experiencia del proceso político. Este punto es de especial importancia en los países donde la mayoría de edad para participar en la vida política (el derecho de voto, por ejemplo) se ha fijado en los 18 años. ¿Se estimula a los maestros a discutir la vida política:

a) preparando estudios sociales como parte del programa,

b) organizando actividades extraescolares (sociedades de debate, parlamentos modelo, entrevistas con políticos, etc.)?

¿Es el gobierno -con carácter centralizador- el que establece los programas y los impone en las escuelas o se establecen a nivel local o escolar? Si se determinan con carácter centralizado ¿se deja a cargo de educadores con fuerte representación de maestros? Si a un maestro le parece inadecuado un libro de texto existente ¿puede ignorarlo o tiene que ajustarse a él?

¿Se espera de los maestros que expongan a los estudiantes sólo las explicaciones oficiales sobre la vida política nacional? ¿Se les alienta a entrar en debates críticos con los estudiantes o tienen sólo libertad para enseñar política hasta un límite determinado que no encuentre objeciones por parte de la sociedad? ¿Son los estudiantes de su escuela activos en la esfera política? ¿Crea tal actividad problemas a los maestros?

5. La protección del maestro en el cumplimiento de sus derechos y responsabilidades

El maestro puede encontrarse en una situación delicada para lograr el equilibrio necesario entre su libertad como ciudadano y su responsabilidad como educador y entre su presentación de los valores tradicionales de la sociedad y su trabajo para desarrollar las facultades de crítica de sus estudiantes. ¿Hasta qué punto defienden las autoridades docentes al maestro en el ejercicio de sus derechos y responsabilidades? ¿Hasta qué punto se considera como una función importante de la organización de maestros? ¿Puede citar algún ejemplo significativo de su experiencia nacional en el que, bien los maestros hayan sido víctimas en su intento de desempeñar plenamente su parte como ciudadanos/educadores o, por el contrario, en el que hayan sido defendidos, con éxito, por las autoridades o la organización de maestros?

FUNCION DE LAS ORGANIZACIONES DE MAESTROS - NACIONALES E INTERNACIONALES

Nuestra principal preocupación en este caso es analizar las diferentes concepciones de organizaciones nacionales de maestros, conforme a cuatro epígrafes:

6. El maestro y la política educativa

Todas las organizaciones nacionales de maestros aceptan que deben participar en la preparación y aplicación de la política docente. A este respecto todas ellas participan en el proceso político. La cuestión que se plantea es, ¿hasta dónde puede extender una organización el ámbito de su acción "política"* o sindical para lograr la finalidad docente deseada?

¿Puede buscar un cambio político general porque tal cambio es la condición previa necesaria para cambiar la política docente?

¿Conviene incluir el derecho a adoptar medidas "industriales" como sanciones o huelgas, o ambas?

¿Considera el público o el gobierno como un ataque directo al gobierno en general cualquier intento para convencer al público de que el gobierno está equivocado acerca de alguna faceta educativa determinada? Si así es, ¿qué medidas se pueden tomar para contrarrestar esa interpretación?

Por último, ¿qué casos conoce usted en los que los afrontamientos abiertos o las negociaciones entre bastidores hayan sido eficaces como acción política con resultado a corto o a largo plazo?

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* "Política" se usa en este caso en el sentido general y no con carácter de partido político.

7. El maestro y la política social en general

El alcance de las cuestiones docentes es tema abierto a la interpretación del público en general, el gobierno y las organizaciones de maestros, dando lugar a posibles desacuerdos entre tales grupos. Temas relacionados con el trabajo de los niños, los servicios sanitarios, el reclutamiento militar, la contaminación, educación sexual, discriminación, conservación, etc., pueden ser considerados por uno o todos los grupos como aspectos que afectan directamente a la educación, o como facetas sociales de importancia, pero al margen de la labor de las organizaciones nacionales de maestros .

¿Puede citar ejemplos de cuestiones que, sin ser estrictamente docentes, estima que tienen suficiente relación con la escuela para justificar la acción directa por parte de esa organización?

8. Contraposición entre el apoyo a la opinión de la mayoría y las ventajas de la unidad

El grado de acción "política" de una organización no sólo puede estar relacionado con la importancia de la cuestión en sí,sino con: a) el efecto de la acción en la existencia continua de la organización, o b) la unidad interna de la organización. Existen ejemplos claros de organizaciones que han sufrido las consecuencias de haber seguido la opinión de la mayoría y cabe preguntarse ¿vale la pena hacerlo? En otros casos, las organizaciones se han impuesto ellas mismas límites, pese a la opinión de la mayoría, para conservar su fuerza en luchas futuras.

¿Ha definido su organización los límites de su acción política en uno de esos objetivos o en ambos?

9. Conexión entre la acción sindical y la política

La acción sindical es inevitablemente política en el sentido estricto de la palabra. Una cuestión que se discute con frecuencia es hasta dónde debe llevarse la acción sindical en relación directa o indirecta con otras fuerzas políticas, especialmente con los partidos políticos. Si queremos ampliar la cuestión, podemos decir -¿hasta qué punto deben identificarse los dirigentes de organismos sindicales con tales fuerzas políticas?

¿Pueden considerarse las restricciones a una asociación como un quebrantamiento de los derechos sociales de los dirigentes como personas o es preferible que se abstengan de tales asociaciones en interés de la organización? ¿Estima que el acto de adherirse una organización o sus dirigentes, o ambos, a las fuerzas nacionales ajenas a la organización refuerza su acción o la debilita? ¿Qué práctica ha seguido esa organización a este respecto?

ACTITUD DE LA CMOPE

Con miras a ampliar el debate sobre la función de las organizaciones de maestros a nivel nacional, deseamos conocer su opinión sobre la actitud de la CMOPE a nivel internacional. Nos encontramos ante una situación en la que algunos de nuestros afiliados siguen una línea política más clara que otros. Unas funcionan como sociedades "abiertas", otras, como sociedades "cerradas". Mientras unas organizaciones estiman que un organismo internacional ha de ser "neutro" (inclusive cuando las propias organizaciones son "políticas"), otras, al evaluar las ventajas de su afiliación, insisten en que se haga una definición política clara de la función de la CMOPE. Conviene, por lo tanto, considerar tres aspectos:

- la determinación y aplicación de declaraciones de política aceptables para todos los miembros o para una mayoría considerable;
- la definición de lo que son cuestiones "políticas";
- el carácter que ha de tener el apoyo de la CMOPE a sus afiliados en el contexto político nacional.

10. Declaraciones de política y su aplicación

Como la CMOPE desea influir en organismos internacionales intergubernamentales*, necesita adoptar una política respecto a numerosos aspectos educativos o relacionados con la educación. Inevitablemente, tendrán que "debilitarse" para que las declaraciones sean aceptables en una amplia gama de organizaciones nacionales (y esa aceptabilidad será precisamente su "fuerza"). Otras organizaciones internacionales más homogéneas pueden adoptar posturas más firmes respecto a distintas cuestiones pero a su vez no pueden alegar, como la CMOPE, que representa ampliamente la profesión de la enseñanza como tal.

¿Estima usted que la constitución actual de la CMOPE es la mejor para su acción política o tendrá la Confederación que establecer políticas más doctrinarias aceptables para la mayoría de sus miembros, aun cuando ello acarree una fuerte oposición e inclusive la baja de aquellos afiliados que no puedan aceptar tales políticas?

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* UNESCO, OIT, OCDE, CEE, Consejo de Europa, SEAMES, OEA, OUA.

11. Definición de las cuestiones "políticas"

Hasta ahora, las Asambleas de la CMOPE han adoptado una interpretación más o menos estricta de lo que es una cuesión política. En ocasiones, incluso han limitado su acción respecto a un asunto de carácter docente, cuando su contexto parecía ser demasiado político. Ultimamente se ha ido adoptando una interpretación más amplia. En primer lugar, se ha convenido en que la Secretaría circule las declaraciones de protesta que envían los miembros sobre cuestiones importantes de carácter internacional, sin tomar ninguna posición al respecto. Además, se ha acordado que la Secretaría prepare declaraciones de política general sobre las cuestiones que se planteen, sin hacer comentarios sobre el caso específico. Por otra parte, la Resolución de Nairobi ha ampliado el alcance de tales declaraciones que ahora abarca el derecho de los pueblos a la autodeterminación, la oposición a las pruebas nucleares y al uso de la fuerza para solucionar controversias, así como el "uso de la minoría sin el consentimiento de la mayoría". Por último, en la Asamblea de Singapúr se adoptó una resolución sobre determinada situación nacional (Chile).

El caso es que cuestiones que para muchas organizaciones de maestros pueden parecer de carácter político, tienen para otras un fondo moral. La cuestión "política" del apartheid de la República de Sudáfrica es una cuestión "moral" para todas nuestras organizaciones. Sin embargo, en otros casos, no es tan fácil la distinción. En los últimos años, algunas de nuestras organizaciones nos han planteado cuestiones de fondo "moral", como la repercusión en la escuela de los conflictos armados en Viet-Nam; la situación en los Estados Arabes y Chipre; el bombardeo del Viet-Nam del Norte por Estados Unidos en diciembre de 1972; el genocidio intelectual de Burundi; las pruebas nucleares de Francia en el Pacífico Sur; los efectos del imperialismo económico externo en Colombia.

¿Es la distinción "político"-"moral" demasiado ambigua y vaga para ser utilizable y, si así es, cómo han de definirse los límites de la acción de la CMOPE en situaciones que preocupan a muchos o a todos sus miembros?

12. Apoyo de la CMOPE a sus afiliados

Con frecuencia, los miembros nacionales piden a la CMOPE su apoyo en protestas de carácter nacional contra medidas del gobierno que ellos desaprueban. ¿Debe apoyar la CMOPE esas acciones en todos los casos, sin examinar previamente a fondo la cuestión?

¿Debe la CMOPE, por el contrario, apoyarlas sólo después de hacer una investigación completa (comprendido el estudio del caso desde el punto de vista del gobierno)?

La política actual es apoyar al miembro nacional basándose en decisiones anteriores de la Asamblea de la CMOPE o en principios fundamentales: la participación del maestro en el establecimiento de la política (es decir, que podemos protestar contra toda política docente introducida sin consultar con la organización nacional de maestros); o en la libertad de asociación (es decir, que podemos protestar contra todo ataque a esta libertad sin contar con la opinión de la organización de maestros).

¿Ha de definirse con más claridad la base de intervención de la CMOPE en las controversias nacionales?

Cuando la CMOPE toma medidas lo hace en nombre de todos los afiliados a la Confederación. En consecuencia, al tomar tales medidas tenemos amplia conciencia de nuestra responsabilidad ante todos los miembros y de la necesidad de contar con un extenso consentimiento. ¿Puede usted citar casos en los que la CMOPE haya traspasado los límites de su responsabilidad o no haya actuado con suficiente energía?

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AUSTRALIA

Australian Teachers Federation

Preamble

A. Education

Australian education systems are State controlled and highly centralised. However, two important developments have taken place recently.

1. The acceptance by the Federal Government of a financial responsibility for education far above the level available to the States from their limited budgets.

2. The development of a policy of decentralization

Federal intervention in the area of finance has resulted in the setting up of a Schools Commission for primary and secondary education with other commissions to cover pre-school, technical, tertiary and University levels. In planning and recommending finance on a triennium basis the Commission established policy guidelines which tend to become obligatory but the implementation of the policy is in the hands of the state or other local authorities. Decentralization is encouraged through the Commission but was also being developed independently in some states. In states where decentralization has developed most community involvement in school policy and management has become a feature of the system for the first time.

The two factors mentioned above have facilitated the development of teachers in the broad political sense. While leadership is often being sought it must be soundly based professionally. Apart from the State systems, about twentyfive per cent of primary and secondary students in Australia attend non-government schools, most of which are controlled by the churches. Under the present Federal Government policy they are eligible to share in Federal money with State schools on a "needs" basis. Most also receive some financial assistance from State Governments.

B. Government

While many minor political parties exist, broadly speaking, Australian governments are formed either by the Labour Party which is socialist in character or a coalition of the Liberal and Country Parties which tend to be more conservative.

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER AS AN INDIVIDUAL

1. The relationship between the part played by the teacher in political life and his or her role in the school

Teachers in Australia are free to seek political office at local, state and federal levels. While in some states it is necessary to resign to contest a parliamentary election, reinstatement without loss of status is automatic if sought after an unsuccessful attempt to win a seat in Parliament. If elected service as a M.P. is full time.

As members of municipal or district Councils teachers continue to teach and are given time off to attend to civic duties. Teachers are expected to refrain from using their privileged position to advance the cause of any particular party. Most parliaments in Australia, if not all, would have some ex-teachers as members, but in no case is the member elected simply because he is a teachers.

2. The teacher and his social responsibilities outside the school

Teachers are expected by both their employers and the community in general to play a full role in society - to be actively engaged in community projects and movements of a political and social nature according to their own interests and the compatibility of such involvement with teaching duties. In any case it is expected that teachers shall not only be aware of current political and social issues at local and national levels but shall encourage free and unbiased research and discussion of such issues by the students. The degree to which teachers provide active leadership in community affairs is difficult to assess. It is believed to be minimal but on the increase. More and more, however, teachers are actively engaged in promoting student interest and involvement in social and political issues and are thus doing the community generally a service.

3. The status of the teacher as a respected and influential citizen

In helping to develop social and political life teachers are accorded status as citizens commensurate with their educational background and their willingness to be involved in the same way as any other citizen. They are given no special status because of being a teacher, except in areas where expertise and experience in the field of education are called for in which case they are expected to provide leadership and are generally acknowledged by governments and other authorities when setting up committees. In some rural areas, however, the willing and competent teacher will have greater opportunities for effective involvement than his metropolitan counterpart. The right for direct representation of teachers on planning and policy-making bodies is being accepted slowly.

4. The objective teaching of facts of political life within the school

It would be true to state that the teaching of the facts of political life within the schools is by a combination of direct teaching through the curriculum, by extra curricular activities and by direct involvement in political processes in the determination and implementation of school policies. It is equally true to say that a student could go through his primary and secondary schooling with very little opportunity to learn these facts. Broad outlines of curricula are determined centrally by committees on which teachers have representation, but the freedom of the teacher to select from the curriculum and the choice of subjects by secondary students can mean that many may miss out as far as direct teaching is concerned.

Likewise, the choice of extra curricular activities being offered is subject to decision by the staff and by the students as to whether or not they will participate. It is believed, however, that the increase in autonomy being given to schools, the greater involvement of the local community in the determination of school policies and programmes and the greater awareness by teachers and students of local, national and international politics and issues, are resulting in a more practical approach to the teaching of the facts of political life. In such teaching, the teacher is expected to see that students are presented with the possible alternatives open to the citizens of the community. Such alternatives would include government and opposition points of view. In some states unions of secondary students have emerged from time to time. The strength of their actions and protests waxes and wanes with the emergence or otherwise of new leaders and/or new issues. Where they have been active they have been an embarrassment to some teachers while being supported by others. Student groups at the tertiary level are very active politically and have their own national body . Issues with which they have become involved include matters of direct concern to them as, for example, living allowances paid to them, together with national and international social, racial and political issues. At times they have joined successfully with other national groups in exerting pressure on the National Government. Major political parties have their branches in Universities and Colleges, although those that are socialistically oriented seem to be more vocal and powerful.

5. The protection of the teacher in the fulfilment of his or her rights and responsibilities

Some Australian States, where teachers are part of the Public Service, have had regulations forbidding teachers to make public criticism of Government actions and policies. Such regulations have either been repealed or are not generally enforced. There have been cases of disciplinary action against teachers for public utterances and demonstration against shortcomings in the general education programme or in government policy. Strong support for such teachers from their organisation has proved effective. Generally education authorities will support any teacher in the exercise of his normal civic, religious and political rights, but would not do so if he abused his privileged position as a teacher by the deliberate introduction of political bias and indoctrination into his teaching.

Teacher organisations recognize the right of a teacher to hold whatever political views he wishes and would support him in the exercise of that right provided his actions in relation to his pupils did not violate any code of ethics to which the organisation subscribed.

THE ROLE OF TEACHERS' ORGANISATIONS - NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

6. Teachers and educational policy

Teacher organisations in Australia, national and state, are involved in the determination and implementation of education policies. The degree and type of involvement varies from state to state and is increasing as decentralization of decision making and greater community involvement are spreading. While teachers in some States and in the Commonwealth Teaching Service are now participating more widely at all levels, many teachers claim that the one place which tends to remain under autocratic control is the school itself. Generally the nominees (if any) for statutory, standing and ad hoc committees are sought from the teacher organisation. On the national level the Federation is still seeking the unconditional right to nominate a specific individual rather than submit a panel of names when a teacher is being sought for a committee. Not only do teacher organisations in most States and in the Commonwealth Teaching Service have representation on government boards, commissions, and committees but the practice of seeking organisation attitude and opinion on proposed changes is much more prevalent than a few years back although this varies from state to state. Indeed one state union has an elected officer on full time duty in the Central Administration for this single purpose. Recent years have seen the ATF engaged in political activities in a large way. For twenty years or more the Federation has campaigned for more money for education from Federal sources and for a national enquiry into Education. The campaign involved deputations, petitions, the use of the advertising media, personal approaches to members of parliament, the staging of national rallies and the like. It achieved success when it became the major goal to which the Federation directed its resources in 1972. The efforts of the affiliates were co-ordinated nationally and with the activities of parent groups. At the same time support was forthcoming from other powerful unions and community groups as Education became a national issue.

Having determined its policy and clearly stated it political parties were supported to the extent that their education policies matched the Federation's. The campaign of nation-wide proportions was a major factor in bringing about a change of government and the establishment of the principle that the Federal Government has a nation -wide responsibility for education. The Federation did not join a political party: the parties decided the extent to which they joined their policy with the Federation's. The credibility of the Organisation has so far remained above question. In the national campaign for finance for education referred to above it would be foolish to suggest that the campaign was not directed against the government of the time. Because the campaign was well co-ordinated and positive in nature revealing to the electorate the standards of education that should be attainable in our society and because it urged the granting of a high priority for education without attempting to influence the electors on other major issues, it was well received. The ATF and its affiliates all maintain the right to "industrial" action but tend to use it sparingly and seldom or not at all in half the states. N.S.W., Victoria and Queensland have all used industrial action to pursue objectives, but all would agree that strike action is a weapon of last resort. Most advances are gained by negotiation especially where there is no Public Service Board intervening between the organisation and the Administration. Confrontation has been used successfully - sometimes open but more often in private. Confrontation over the right of the teacher to make public comment on deficiencies in the school resulted in legal action and a lengthy period of "shut-door" policy but ultimately with a healthier respect for the organisation. We maintain that, while negotiation should be the first line of attack, the organisation must be prepared to bare its teeth from time to time.

7. Teachers and social policy in general

Because the membership of the teachers organisations cover the whole breadth of the political spectrum, most organisations refrain from active participation in a direct support for political activities not involving educational issues. However, some social and humanitarian issues have been supported in varying degrees by the ATF and its affiliates. Such issues have included the Aboriginal question, national pensions, conservation, assistance to developing nations, the abolition of compulsory military service in Vietnam.

Support has included the passing of resolutions of support, co-operation in working parties but seldom, if ever, direct action by the organisation.

8. The balance between the furtherance of majority views and the benefits of unity

The balance is a very delicate one which can be easily destroyed when the action contemplated is seen as being particularly political and not directly educational in nature, and in some cases when the more conservative members see it as "too industrial". Leaders must be continuously aware of this balance and use their position to endeavour to maintain unity and at the same time pursue the majority views. Up to the present Australian organisations have done this very well sometimes by a compromise in action but without loss of principle. Perhaps the greatest danger faced in a society where teachers are seen as being reasonably well off is the apathetic attitude of the majority which may allow a minority group to use the democratic process to pursue ends not directly within the ambit of normal action. Neither the ATF nor any of its affiliates is directly affiliated with any political party, although all endeavour to influence party policies at all levels. At least two of the affiliates, however, are affiliated with the Australian Council of Trade Unions which, while not being a recognized political party, is generally believed by the general public to be the basis of the strength of the Labour Party. By remaining unaffiliated with any party most Australian Teacher Organisations believe they have greater ability to influence the policies of most to retain their credibility with all and to be able to openly challenge any government, when necessary, irrespective of the party in power.

Australian teacher organisations do align themselves with other national forces for specific purposes but seldom on a permanent basis. The one exception is the ATF affiliation with the Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Associations, an affiliation which some members question.

10. Policy statements and their application

What has been said about the ATF on the national scene is equally true of WCOTP on the international. Permanent alignments do not necessarily add strength. Neither do more doctrinaire policies. Indeed, the latter could not only lead to the disaffiliation of some members but could also subtract from the Confederation's credibility with many governments. The present type of policy statements tend to be strong but not offensive and quite appropriate for strong action should the situation demand it.

11. Definition of "political" issues

Above all things WCOTP must avoid jumping on any band wagon. Political and moral issues are only issues for WCOTP when they have a direct effect on education generally, on teachers or on students. If this principle is followed, justice may be done as far as teachers are concerned without alienating both teachers and other citizens. Experience over the last few years has indicated that WCOTP can take effective action in "political moral" situations. The general expansion of its educational activities directly and through the agency of its affiliates will remain its greatest contribution to national development, international understanding, and professional unity on a global basis. Where its activities can be co-ordinated with other international groups so much the better.

12. WCOTP support for its members

As a world body, WCOTP must always be very cognizant of the multiplicity of philosophies, of national interest and of the domestic problems being faced by its members. It is essential, therefore, that the Secretariat act, when called upon to do so, within the framework that has been determined at the assemblies and within the limits defined by the ILO Convention and the Declaration of Human Rights. The practices of the past few years are sound. The support given to the N.S.W. Federation has been appreciated and effective. Although the dispute has not been finally settled, ATF believes the situation of the Federation has been strengthened by the actions of the Secretary General and that the problem has been eased and brought closer to resolution than it would have been otherwise. To attempt to lay down more precise guidelines could bring WCOTP into embarrassing situations and possibly into conflict with some affiliates.

CANADA

Canadian Teachers' Federation

Educational policies are political decisions, in that they reflect the value system and the socio-economic philosophies of the governing authority.

The "political process", however, as defined in John Thompson's Introduction to the 1975 WCOTP theme, is not a first cause nor a basic determinant in any society. It is derived from and shaped by more deep-seated factors. Essentially, it is the means created by the dominant elements in the community for the regulation of the collective affairs of the community.

This has three important implications. The first is that there is a time-lag. The dominance of particular elements must be established, and the dominant sector of society must find definition, explicit or implicit, before the appropriate political system can evolve.

The second is that a political system is not in itself a basic reality, but a set of conventions. It reflects the basic realities of power, but because of the inevitable time-lag in responding to changes in those realities it may at times be a reflection of a past pattern of power rather than of the current reality. It may, in other words, be a set of obsolete conventions, artificially sustained.

The third is that a decision about involvement in the political process must be a resolve either to try to influence the way in which the regulatory process is operated by those in control of it or to try to oust those who are in control by undermining their real power. The options must be understood and the difference recognized.

To describe the political system as the instrument of a dominant sector is not to express scepticism about democracy, the essence of which is presumably that government is directed towards the general good, without fear or favour of any group. But the fact is that there is no society in which power is evenly distributed. Power in society is sought with unequal zeal and with unequal initial advantage, and since it consists of the ability to compel or restrain the actions of others it is by definition limited in its distribution.

History tells us that the possession of power is closely related to control over the basic factors which ensure or deny the survival of people (those factors which we have learned to call by the all-inclusive term "economic"). History also reminds us, however, that power cannot be exercised without the obedience of subordinate groups, and tends to leak away as they become more aware of that fact and of their own collective identity. Tyrants, generals, landlords, proprietors, corporations have power only as long as they command the obedience of subjects, soldiers, peasants, workers or investors. If the latter cease to believe that obedience is in their true interest, the power of the former declines, and passes to whoever can secure general support in their place. Revolutions take place when real power has passed from one set of hands to another, without the necessary adjustment having been made in the political process. Political authority in itself has no inherent strength, since it is only a convention. It cannot long survive the challenge of those who wield real power -- if they know that they do so, can demonstrate that fact, and have a sufficient degree of organization to assume government.* On the other hand, it remains unshakeable as long as those who exercise it are still the possessors of real power, or can successfully pretend to be.

In any society, at any time, the first question that must be addressed by anyone contemplating entry into the political process is whether the current conventions of the political system match the present distribution of real power. In a multi-level structure such as that of Canada, in which formal political systems exist at the district/municipal, provincial and federal levels, the question must be asked not only with reference to the relationship of each system to the economic and social environment, but with reference to the relationship of each level to each of the others.

A series of further questions then present themselves, each having its own set of implications.

When we speak of "political action" by teachers, do we mean an attempt to persuade those who currently hold political authority to act in support of objectives that teachers, collectively, have adopted?

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*It is important, however, not to be deceived by instances in which it is discovered that specific laws can no longer be enforced. Law is enforceable only as long as it is respected. In Canada, for instance, laws prohibiting strikes in certain circumstances have largely become unenforceable because they are disobeyed on too large a scale. But the fact that one piece of legislation has become a dead letter does not mean that the general power to govern is lost -- still less that a revolution is imminent.

Without undue cynicism, it may be observed that the first objective of anyone who holds political authority is to retain it, since nothing can be done by a defeated politician. This tends to give excessive importance to short-term survival strategies, and deters politicians from commitment to any long-term planning that shows no immediate benefit to the elector. An attempt to influence political authorities, therefore, cannot succeed unless it offers either a promise or a threat to their prospects of survival in the next election.

In dealing with politicians, it is necessary to remember that one is dealing with individuals whose responses will be closely constrained by party disciplines, and with parties which already have their own policies and strategies, shaped by their estimate of what the voters will support. They will not grind our axes, only their own. They will not prescribe pills without sugar. It is well to remember that the safest definition of trust is the realistic perception of other people's self-interest. Politicians can be relied upon to adopt and promote teacher-inspired policies only if they offer, to the politicians, a good short-term survival strategy.

A government in power, then, will respond favourably to policy proposals only if in their long-run effects they are consistent with the politico-economic orientation of the party in power, and if in their short-run impact they will be acceptable to a majority of the voting public.

Are we speaking, rather, of trying to win the support of those who hold real power, whether or not they are in authority in the present political structure?

If so, we must first identify our target.

On one level, we might seek to take advantage of the fact that the Canadian political system, at its senior levels at least, is an adversary system. In each legislature, federal or provincial, there is an opposition. The politicians of the opposition, though they seldom have any hope of defeating a government proposal in the legislature, do have the possibility of making public that which the government would prefer to keep private, of emphasizing undesirable features of proposed legislation, and, generally, of embarrassing the government. They also, however, are politicians. They have their own policies, their own strategies, their own goals and their own party discipline. They will not espouse a cause that is not in essence their own, that will bring short-term unpopularity upon them, that is not timely in the perspectives of their own strategy, or which will not, in their estimation, enhance their prospects of unseating the government at the next election.

On a second level, we may seek to influence politicians by direct appeal to the voting public. This, in effect, places teachers at once in the position of politicians, putting them under the same necessity to win the attention of the public with effective propaganda, and to demonstrate immediate benefit as well as long-term gain. It also requires teacher organizations to decide whether to throw their support behind the persons or parties judged most likely to adopt favourable policies, or to sponsor their own candidates -- a question that may produce different answers at the different levels of government. Above all, though, it requires of the organizations a very accurate perception of the political mood of the majority of voters, and it requires the organizations to make some crucial decisions about the manner in which their own policies should be interpreted or modified to take advantage of that mood. If politics is indeed the art of the possible, it follows that the aspiring politician must be prepared to compromise, to temporize, to manoeuvre and to bargain.

On a third level, it may be decided that real power is shifting, or has shifted, and that groups which are not formally represented in the current political structure have become definable as dominant elements in real terms. Such decisions might lead to the formation of alliances or "common fronts" outside the formal poltical system, with a view either to coercing a weakening government or to accelerating a change in the political system. Decisions of this kind may also make us agents and servants of a specific ideology competitive with that which now prevails, and may place limits upon our freedom to shape our own policies or to question the views of others.

Are we speaking of an attempt by teacher organizations to acquir direct power themselves, and thus to become, eventually, participants in the control of the political process?

If so, there must be a careful study of the real basis of power in the contemporary society. In a capitalist economy, for example, the investments of teachers, channelled through an agency under their own control, and directed towards key industries or natural resources, could be a most powerful instrument. The use of such an instrument would, however, require the creation of a very sophisticated control system in which expert management would be firmly regulated by a body of competent political policy-makers.

Whatever the approach chosen, the goal must be clearly established from the outset.

We may choose to define our goal in terms of the advantages we wish to secure for teachers. If we do, we must attempt to define "advantage".

There is much truth in the observation made by Michael Manley, Prime Minister of Jamaica, that power and wealth are two sides of the same coin. The beginning of wealth is security -- in the case of an employed person, security of employment. It is idle to speak of advantage unless that objective is first secured. But it cannot be secured unless there is power to maintain it, and that power depends on going further -- gaining enough control over basic economic factors to affect the wealth of others, and so control their decisions. Minimum gains are not obtained by setting minimal goals.

Are we then in competition with other groups? In competition there can be no success without initial advantage. What strategies, what temporary compromise or alliance, will secure the base from which teachers may go on with strength to pursue their own advantage?

We may, on the other hand, maintain that our true objective is the eventual betterment of society -- that we are striving not for self-interest but for the improvement of the quality of education and, through it, of the quality of life.

If this is what we profess, we must ask ourselves whether we see education itself as a captive activity, serving either to promote the purposes of the dominant economic system and maintain an appropriate social and cultural indoctrination, or to promote a different indoctrination, appropriate to a specific system of a different kind from that now prevailing, or whether on the other hand we see it as a means of equipping people for continuous review and criticism -- giving them the ability to conceive and implement alternative economic, social and political systems.

If we take the first view, and align ourselves with the purposes of the current system, our task is to persuade the politicians and/or the public that we are a reliable source of expert advice on the implementation of economic and social goals. If, on the other hand, we resolve to work for the establishment of a specific alternative to the present politico-economic system, the task is to establish alliance with like-minded groups in other fields, to plan stage-by-stage strategies, to undertake a campaign of indoctrination of our own members, to build up a cadre of activists, to develop a major effort of propaganda designed both to show that the present processes of the school are exploitative and repressive, and to outline, in an authoritative and uncompromising manner, the doctrines and processes which ought to be operative at each stage of change.

If we take the second view, maintaining that the school should not be the servant of any doctrine, we are committed, as a prerequisite, to the attempt to educate the public to accept the notion of education as a change agent, a disturber of the status quo, a solvent of tradition, a challenge to habit and custom, a cause of uncertainty and unpredictability. We must also realize that we are then committed to a role which must be seen by the dominant element as subversive, and we must be prepared for entry at least into sustained public debate and possibly into sharp conflict.

These questions, and their implications, may be said to be different facets of three key questions:

Is the teacher organization prepared to accept the existing political system and work for influence within it, through the fullest possible exploitation of whatever channels of communication and means of pressure may be available?

Is the organization prepared to work for the subversion of the existing political system, through the fullest possible exploitation of whatever channels of communication, modes of action and means of concentrating power may be discovered outside the system?

In either instance, can teacher organizations define their own goals in isolation from general socio-economic issues?

Generally speaking, the provincial and territorial teacher organizations which make up the Canadian Teachers' Federation have tended to answer the last question with a modified affirmative. Pursuing the threefold objective of improvement in the quality of schooling, an increased level of professional control by teachers, and betterment of the economic status of teachers, they have certainly observed that these are affected by various factors outside the control of the school. To take one example relating to the quality of schooling: the way in which a child experiences school, and the kind of good or harm that school does to him, is affected by his health, the condition of his life at home, the distribution of wealth in the community, the kinds of prejudices that may be current in society, the degree of social mobility that is tolerated, the value systems which regulate the processes and disciplines of society, and so on; and the school can have little immediate effect on those. Another example that is of particular significance in Canadian society is to be found in the complex pattern of disadvantage that is associated with minority status. Ethnic and linguistic minorities are forever faced with the dilemma that the only way to gain equality of status may be the abandonment of identity and the acceptance of assimilation. That would be too high a price to pay even if the rewards were guaranteed. When -- as is too often the case -- the child of the minority group enters school with an initial handicap, and then finds that prejudice endures even when he has overcome his handicap and achieved success in a system that ignores or disdains his cultural identity, teachers have a duty to work for change both in the school and in the larger society. The general view of the Canadian organizations, however, is that the teacher's responsibility for such factors is limited to identifying them, doing whatever can be done to compensate for them, and bringing them insistently to the notice of those other professions and those other specialized agencies and associations in Canadian society which are especially concerned with them.

Similarly, the level of professional control permitted to teachers is affected by the degree of success achieved by other professionals; and the struggle for economic status is possible only in a society which accepts collective negotiation for all occupational groups. But the Canadian view tends to be that each group must fight its own fight in its own way.

It is the general belief, in other words, that there are many factors specific to the problems of quality in the schooling process, the professional aspirations of teachers, and the economic status of teachers, and that the teacher association is a specialized organization which should not allow its major energies to be diverted from attention to those factors. It is recognized, however, that "policies" of governments at all levels in relation to education, schools and teachers are inseparable from "politics". They are products of the political process, and can only be modified by successful intervention in that process.

It is also the general belief that in terms of political action the energies of the organization should be directed to working within the system. In the provinces, which are wholly autonomous in matters of education, and at the level of the federal government -- which is prohibited by the Constitution from legislating for education, but which passes many laws that have a direct effect on the economic condition of teachers and on the cultural and socio-economic context in which the school operates -- the system is based on the British parliamentary model. It is an adversary system, with a governing party which may seek to stay in power to the end of a fixed term of years, or may at any time seek a renewal of its mandate through a general election, or may be defeated and forced to call a general election. The balance of party power may change from year to year as by-elections occur.

General elections and by-elections give opportunity for teacher organizations to study the past record and likely orientation of parties and candidates, question them about their attitude to matters of concern to teachers, and distribute information to teachers and to the general public. They also provide an opportunity for teacher organizations to explain to the voting public what their concerns are, and in what way each of the contending parties may be expected to act in relation to these concerns. Agents of the organization may even take an active part as propagandists for selected candidates and as campaign workers.

In most parts of Canada, the day-to-day administration of schools is under the control of school boards elected locally (to govern the schools in a municipality, a county or a small district), for a fixed term. Overt party affiliation of candidates is rare. Ostensibly, they run for office, and participate in debates and votes, as individuals. At this level also, however, the past record, personal history, known interests and known political orientation of candidates can be studied and made known, and the teacher organization may appeal openly to its members and to the public for support of preferred candidates.

In contrast to what has been said about general tendencies, it should be noted that the one teacher organization in Canada that has never belonged to the Canadian Teachers' Federation -- one of the three associations in the province of Quebec -- rejects the view that teachers' concerns can be isolated from general political objectives. The "Centrale de l'enseignement du Québec" states that the society in which Québec teachers work is "a society of exploitation, an inequitable society ... which, as the need arises, invents new inequalities like diplomas and bilingualism ... an alienating society"; that the state "puts its judges, its police and its army at the service of the dominant class"; that "sickness insurance, hospital insurance, unemployment insurance, disability pensions and old age pensions are all measures designed to allow the capitalists to deliver non-productive workers into the hands of the state"; that the school "is the very model of the capitalist society"; that all workers must understand these things as the basis of a general solidarity in "the struggle for radical change in social relationships" and that "the school is not an oasis of purity" but "collaborates actively in maintaining the exploitation of the working class". The CEQ, accordingly, maintains that teachers must see themselves as workers doing what they can in their own field, but in close alliance with other workers, to advance the common cause. It is the task of the organization "to stimulate in teachers the awareness of the role of the school and of their role".

This view, or the general sentiments and philosophy underlying it, has found a certain degree of support in minority groups within some of the member organizations of CTF.

For the majority who choose to work towards an increase of influence within the existing system, a number of problems present themselves.

Perhaps the least difficult is that of establishing the appropriate mechanisms. A permanent research function is necessary at the local and provincial levels to maintain and distribute information about actual and proposed laws, policies and regulations, their implications and probable consequences, the attitudes, socio-economic philosophies and policy orientations of parties in the legislature and members of school boards, and the past record and known inclinations of candidates for office. Regular communication must be maintained with members (and must have a familiar, distinctive and easily recognized format); and all this activity must be enormously increased when a general election is imminent.

It must also be emphasized that political processes, however complex, are operated by people, and people are more likely to be influenced by familiar acquaintances than by strangers making an occasional appearance. It is part of the task of the teacher organization to identify the influential individuals in political and bureaucratic circles and to maintain regular informal contact, explaining viewpoints and clarifying policies.

These measures can be costly, and it may be necessary, either on financial grounds or because of legal restrictions on the use of membership fees, to support them by special fees or levies.

At the federal level the research activity is rather more complex, since large-scale, long-term factors are involved -- the state of the national economy and its eventual effect on the financing of schools and on teacher salary levels, for example, or the impact of general social welfare measures on the pension and insurance plans of teachers. Since the effects of such factors, though very real, is indirect and often incidental, it is much more difficult to estimate the importance for teachers of the commitment of the various parties to different lines of policy.

Next in increasing order of difficulty is the task of translating the concerns and objectives of teachers into appropriate political terms. It is not enough to tell politicians that teachers need to be paid higher salaries, that classes should be smaller, that specialised supporting services should be expanded, or that there should be more involvement of teachers in decision-making. To make an impression on politicians, whether in government or in opposition, these things must be related to those social goals and political policies that are known to be of concern to them, and the likely consequences in terms of eventual gain or loss of voter support must be shown.

Two further problems then arise. The first is this. Politicians will react only if they believe that the public does feel, or can be made to feel, concern about the issues. This requires the teacher organization to be in continuous contact with the major media of public communication, and to make a continuous effort to translate its concerns into simple, direct statements -- emphasizing, as dramatically as possible, the immediate good or bad effects of changes that are being considered. The issue must be presented as a clear and straightforward question in each instance. It must be stressed, too, that the interests of politicians tend to be defined in terms of short-term expediency rather than long-term social benefit. It is all the more important, then, that teacher organizations not wait to react to government initiatives. Not only is it tactically unsound to leave the initiative to the adversary: it is strategically wrong, in that the result will be to consume the energies of the association in pointless political skirmishing when they should be turned to the development of those long-range educational objectives from which tactical goals should be derived.

The second problem is that resentment may well be encountered within the ranks of teachers themselves if they feel that their organization is taking a partisan position in alliance with a particular party. Canadian teachers have tended to assert, quite strongly, their right as individual citizens to use their vote as they please, and to resent public statements by their association which seem to be pledges of support to a political party. Effort, therefore, must be focussed on clarifying issues, enquiring into the attitudes of parties and individuals towards those issues, and publicizing the results. Only rarely does it happen that the level of agreement is so high, the issue so clear and urgent, and the attitude of a government so negative, that a Canadian teacher organization can confidently declare its open support of an opposition party.

Even then, support must very clearly be limited to the period of the election. There must be no commitment, open or implied, to continued alliance; for if alliance does continue, the teacher organization's goals will be subordinated to the political purposes of the party concerned. The danger of entering into permanent alliance with any political party cannot be over-emphasized. Such an alliance will thoroughly discredit the organization when the party it supports is out of power. When the party is in power, the alliance carries with it the risk of making the teacher organization a bureaucratic instrument for the oppression of its members.

For similar reasons, little reliance can be placed on the presence in the legislature of former officers or members of teachers organizations. Under the Candian system, parliamentary voting is regulated by party discipline. Once elected, the legislator's first loyalty must and will be to the policies adopted by his party and the strategies decided upon by its caucus.

Teachers often grow impatient with the complexity and apparent indecisiveness of political action. Aware of their numbers, they feel that power should come of itself. The truth is, however, that numbers are not in themselves a guarantee of strength. They are, in fact, meaningless unless they can be translated into a guarantee of votes for or against. To do this is all the more difficult because it is part of the art of the politician to avoid presenting any large sector of the voting public, at the time of an election, with an issue clear enough, isolated enough and explicit enough to provoke a solidly negative vote. Even the most direct expression of numerical strength, in strikes or demonstrations, will be ineffectual (since teaching is not an activity at the basic economic level) unless it calls attention to an *issue in which the public may* be expected to take sides with the teachers. Confrontation reduces an issue to a test of strength, not of justice. It will show where strength really lies. It may also accelerate a process which would have taken place in any case, by calling attention to the need for action. It introduces no new factor, however -- it only clarifies the nature of the existing factors in the situation. There are times when this is useful, but these are rare. Confrontation is a technique to be used with care. It reduces the power of manoeuvre by committing reserves, and creates a new situation for which new strategies will have to be designed.

It is doubtful whether the questions with which this paper began have been closely or seriously studied, still less consciously answered, by the majority of Canadian teacher organizations. And yet some form of answer to them is implicit in every attempt at political involvement. Professional politicians may speak of the political "game": for teachers it must not be a game, but a serious and responsible concern.

Response to these questions is greatly complicated by the current state of uncertainty at the basic levels from which political processes are derived. Everywhere in the world, the nature of real power is changing. The new sources of power are not yet clear, nor is it clear what groups will eventually control them. The increasing scale of trends and movements -- the trans-national pattern of the dynamics of power -- is raising the question of the efficacy of the nation-state as a unit of political authority, and of the authenticity of national political systems as power structures. Even the calculation of "good" and "bad" in relation to the effects of alternative policies upon people has to be made on a scale much larger than the local, and probably larger than that of the nation. Confusion is increased by the temporary prominence of one set of issues after another, as various groups jockey for position and grasp for the elusive instruments of power.

Inevitably, this confusion affects the teacher in his or her teaching. Feeling a moral responsibility to encourage in the student some concept of social justice, some sense of compassion, some willingness to identify with others; to share advantages and to refrain from exploitation, teachers are increasingly hesitant to preach the virtues of the present system. The most popular view, however, is that the Canadian political system does have the means of remedy built into it, and that it is the duty of the teacher both to help the student to form ethical social concepts and to teach an understanding of the mechanisms through which change can be pursued. Many new courses and techniques are being developed for this purpose.

Students themselves are beginning to be a part of the political process. With the voting age in Canada reduced to 18, many secondary students now have the full rights and responsibilities of citizens. As a result, many have felt encouraged to experiment with "student power", organizing the collective expression of student opinion, through demonstrations or public statements, on the issues with which their teachers are concerned. This increases the obligation upon teachers to be honest in their discussion of current affairs, to be candid about their own bias, to ensure that students understand the responsibility of the citizen and have access to all sources of information and opinion, and to refrain most scrupulously from exploiting their privileged position by attempting to manipulate student attitudes.

Increased political awareness among students, however, extends beyond local concerns. The questions raised by young people in the schools, inspired by their natural idealism and provoked by exposure to the mass media, confronts teachers in a very direct way with the need to recognize the global nature of many current issues and to extend their own horizons.

In the meantime, paradoxically, the response of teacher associatons to world-wide turbulence tends to be a withdrawal into local situations and parochial issues, where the illusion of decisiveness provides a comforting insulation from reality.

Belief in the uniqueness of teaching and of the aspirations of teachers, and therefore in the preservation of political independence as the basis of involvement in the political process, is generally held, in Canada, to be a sound attitude. The illusion of local separateness, however, -- the belief that issues are unique to and controllable within present political jurisdictions -- is a dangerous mistake. Whether teacher organizations can convert their mutual understanding into a political strength, and by what means they may succeed in doing so, are questions which remain to be answered.

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ENGLAND

Associations of Head Masters, Head Mistresses, Assistant Masters and Assistant Mistresses

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER AS AN INDIVIDUAL

1. The relationship between the part played by the teacher in political life and his or her role in the school

In England and Wales teachers are accorded the full civic rights given to adult citizens. The only restriction which affects them is that those who are employed by Local Education Authorities to teach in institutions maintained by the Authority which employs them, cannot be elected to serve on the Local Council of that Authority. This restriction applies to all Local Government employees. Teachers are, however, able to stand for election as Councillors of the Local Authorities in which they live if these are not the Local Authorities by which they are employed. They may be elected, as co-opted members, to join the Education Committees of their own Local Authorities. Many Education Committees make provision for the election of teacher representatives to their number. These representatives are elected by their teacher colleagues who serve in the Authorities' maintained schools and colleges.

A teacher elected as a Councillor, or as a member of an Education Committee, is given leave of absence with pay to attend the necessary meetings and continues to hold his teaching post. As well as serving as Councillors, members of the Joint Four have, from time to time, served as Mayors of their own Boroughs or Cities, while continuing to hold full-time teaching posts.

Teachers are also free to stand for election as Members of Parliament, and are given leave of absence during the election campaign. If they are not elected, they return to their own full-time posts.

It is not possible for them to teach while serving as Members of Parliament. Some are given leave of absence by their employers, and others resign their posts. Local Authorities will normally re-employ a teacher who has lost his Parliamentary seat. The present Government contains a record number of teacher M.P.s, and there are teacher M.P.s in the other main political parties also.

It is for the individual teacher to judge whether he has the time and energy to take part in local or national government, and can equate this with his own teaching duties and career pattern.

2. The teacher and his social responsibilities outside the school

A teacher is free to join the political party of his choice, and to take part in the political life of his community and country, campaigning for the issues he regards as important. Nevertheless, those who hold extreme views and support them vigorously may be subject to criticism, though their fundamental rights are recognised, providing that their activities fall within what is regarded as lawful. Most teachers who play an active role in local and national politics do so without creating any difficulties for themselves or their schools. This is probably because teachers are active in all the major political parties.

While recognising the teacher's right to his political views, and his right to uphold them in the adult community, it is traditionally expected that he will take a neutral political standpoint in school, and expecially in his teaching.

Teachers are not expected to 'indoctrinate' pupils or to indulge in propaganda for their own beliefs, but rather to give objective information about the range of responsible opinion within the community so that pupils are put in a position to make their own judgments. 'In practice senior pupils are likely to be well aware of the teacher's political and social standpoint, but as they meet teachers and others with widely differing views they are not unduly influenced as a rule. Young people are, in any case, reasonably resistant to propaganda and special pleading.

It would be regarded as the duty of the Head and the School Authorities to take appropriate steps to prevent teachers exerting overt political influence on their pupils.

Despite this expectation of 'neutrality' which is less strong than it used to be, it is accepted that teachers individually and collectively have a duty to encourage in their pupils a respect for others, a sense of service and a lively social conscience. This, to some degree, is bound to lead to involvement in political questions and possibly to adherence to particular political doctrines which may be identified with a Political Party or Parties.

It is regarded as the responsibility of a teacher to reflect the best elements of current society, to help his pupils to adopt these, to identify those elements which need to be changed and to work for these changes; i.e. the removal of social disadvantage, the promotion of equality of opportunity, racial harmony, mutual respect between peoples and a responsible use of resources for the good of all.

3. The status of the teacher as a respected and influential citizen

While teachers are expected to play a responsible role in society, they share this role with the other educated adults in the community and are not required to exert any special degree of leadership just because they are teachers. While the village schoolmaster or schoolmistress used to be in a position of influence when others did not have the same opportunities for education, this no longer obtains, though there is still considerable respect for a well established Headmaster or Headmistress - who is often asked to serve on local committees which have a social or educational function.

Teachers often serve on local and national bodies which deal with social and educational problems. Most Royal Commissions and official Committees will include one or more experienced and respected teachers, chosen as individuals, amongst their members.

There are no restrictions placed upon teachers in exercising their influence as citizens.

4. The objective teaching of the facts of political life within the school

Where the subject of study and age of the pupil is appropriate, the facts of political life are likely to be included in the curriculum. How far this is done will depend upon the attitude of the head and teachers concerned. Modern history, geography, economics, civics, British constitution will almost certainly include some material relating to current political ideas and practices. Current events lessons are part of the curriculum for senior pupils in some schools and these lessons would certainly involve discussion of political issues.

Some extra-curricular activities will also include discussions about the political scene. Debating Societies are likely to deal with the live issues of the day, and schools affiliated to the Council for Education in World Citizenship will discuss politics in the wider context of world affairs. Many schools arrange visits to Local Councils and to Parliament, either in connection with the curriculum or as an extra-curricular activity. M.P.s or candidates for election are invited to speak to senior pupils (care being taken to ensure that politicians from all the major parties take part). Some schools hold lively mock elections, and others have school councils or parliaments which follow parliamentary procedures.

The curriculum and the choice of text-books are left to the school and teachers are free to engage in critical discussions with their students, bearing in mind the distinction between indoctrination and information. Students are encouraged to form their own opinions and there is no attempt to present only official information or interpretation of events.

Students in some schools are active in political parties, and some bring their politics into school. When this occurs it can cause problems for teachers particularly where these students wish to influence the school organisation. Most students are not politically active, and most of those who have political affiliations do not bring these into school to any extent. They tend to separate their life in school from their activities outside. Now that many students are 18 and are able to vote before they leave school, Heads have to be careful that they are protected in school against manipulation by organisations with political motives.

5. The protection of the teacher in the fulfilment of his or her rights and responsibilities

In this country teachers enjoy great political freedom, and consequently there are few cases of victimisation of teachers. Where these occur, they relate to active membership and participation in extreme political groups - e.g. the National Front, Welsh Nationalists, Marxists. Both the Local Education Authorities and the Teachers' organisations give full support to teachers in such circumstances, provided that there are no grounds for criticism relating to their work in school and relations with pupils. Because Teachers' organisations recognise the right of teachers to hold minority and extreme views, they are ready to support them if difficulties occur.

THE ROLE OF TEACHERS' ORGANISATIONS - NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

6. Teachers and educational policy

Teachers' organisations, through representation, negotiation, the publication of policy statements and publicity, play a significant part in the formulation and determination of educational policy. Their right to do this is recognised, and providing that their aim is the improvement of education, this is not seen as an attack on the government of the day. If an organisation finds that the only way of securing the implementation of an important educational principle is to seek a change of government, we believe that this activity would be regarded as legitimate, though we doubt whether it would be in their power to secure such a change.

Teachers' organisations in England and Wales are free to withdraw their labour by industrial action, or to operate sanctions, and this right is jealously guarded. Most Teachers' organisations, including the Joint Four, would see such action as a last resort and would tend to use persuasion rather than militant action. Many teachers feel that militant action is taken at the expense of their pupils' interests and can be counter-productive. Both open persuasion and negotiations 'behind the scenes' are used as appropriate and normally prove effective. Open confrontation hardens attitudes and tends to poison relationships because differences are exaggerated and one party will almost inevitably lose face in reaching a settlement. In recent years a series of procedures for avoiding conflict on educational issues or on conditions of service have been developed. Individual teachers have a right of appeal against dismissal, and a grievance procedure through which they can raise professional problems. They also have access to the industrial courts. Teachers' organisations have now agreed on machinery for dealing with Collective Disputes with their employers. On salary matters there is a negotiating committee, and a right to seek arbitration if the Committee fails to agree.

7. Teachers and social policy in general

While the Joint Four tend to limit their activities to those which are directly oncerned with education and the schools, they do give evidence to public committees and Royal Commisssions which are concerned with social issues which impact upon the schools, such as the treatment of young offenders, conservation, pollution, sex-discrimination, the health service, the future of Broadcasting, or the age of majority. In dealing with these subjects, letters to the Press, lobbying M.P.s, deputations to official committees and to Ministers may all be used. The involvement of teachers in this way is often influential and is regarded as helpful.

8. The balance between the furtherance of majority views and the benefits of unity

The Joint Four associations all give very high priority to preserving the rights of the individual. They tend to 'advise' rather than to 'instruct' their members to follow a particular policy or course of action, and whenever possible try to reach a general consensus of opinion. They place great emphasis on careful and frequent consultation with their members, and unless the issue was one in which the statement of minority views would seriously limit the effectiveness of the majority, they would tend to indicate that the minority views existed. As the Joint Four works with other teachers' organisations in negotiating salaries and conditions of service it recognises that compromise is necessary in reaching corporate decisions, and this is acceptable to members.

9. The link between syndical and political action

While recognising the right of teachers' organisations to join with other political or syndical organisations to attain their aims, the Joint Four does not have any affiliations with political parties or trade union bodies. It may from time to time join with other professional bodies in protecting its rights, e.g. to oppose the 'closed shop', or to ensure that organisations which are not part of the official Trade Union movement can maintain their negotiating rights, but this has not led to any permanent links with other groups.

The leaders of the Joint Four associations have normally thought it preferable to avoid being identified with party politics, since their organisations are non-party, but this is a matter left to individual judgement.

THE POSITION OF WCOTP

10. Policy statements and their application

The Joint Four would not wish WCOTP to become more 'doctrinaire'. Although WCOTP may not always be in a position to take a firm line, we believe that its strength lies in the fact that its policies are accepted by so wide a confederation of organisations. WCOTP can only act as a pressure group, and cannot coerce governments (or international bodies) to follow the wishes of its members.

The loss of members who cannot accept policies might seriously weaken WCOTP's influence, since it would reduce the diversity and breadth of membership, which is one of its major strengths with international bodies, and might create some active dissidents working to discredit WCOTP because they no longer felt able to work within its ranks.

If WCOTP goes forward to international bodies with a policy based on the views of a narrow majority, it runs the risk of being discredited if its views are clearly repudiated by members who do not agree with WCOTP policies and make this clear through their own national representatives. It is better for WCOTP to bring forward consensus views, which can be supplemented by different national viewpoints, or to make clear the strength of its majority and the nature of the minority views. This is likely to increase WCOTP's influence and credibility, since everyone is aware that complete unanimity on any important issue is unlikely. To pretend that it exists where it does not may lead to loss of respect and power.

11. Definition of "political" issues

The Joint Four believes that WCOTP is strongest when it confines its activities to strictly educational issues. It is on a slippery slope if it continues to circulate 'political' protest statements. The judgment as to whether or not to intervene on a 'moral' issue must be made on the basis of whether it is relevant to the professional concerns of its members as educators and to the needs of the children they teach, since it is only in such circumstances that WCOTP and its organisations can speak with authority. In any case it is not easy to define limits precisely in advance. WCOTP can only act within the framework of its own agreed policies. The only way is to examine each situation as it arises and take the consensus of opinion existing at that time on the particular issue. A broad humane attitude must be adopted - an international body cannot easily take a 'stand' on a purely national issue.

12. WCOTP support for its members

The Joint Four supports WCOTP's present policy. It believes that there should be no umbrella support of protests in all cases. Issues should only be supported after fair and full investigation and in the case of a country with more than one teachers' organisation, only with the agreement of all the WCOTP members in that country. On fundamental principles, already agreed, members have the right to receive, at their request, appropriate support from WCOTP. Where there is doubt about the issues at stake there should be as wide consultation as possible. We do not think it is easy to define the basis for WCOTP intervention more closely in a way that would be helpful.

ENGLAND

National Union of Teachers

1. Teachers in England and Wales are free to make their own choice as to whether they wish to participate in the political life of the country. They are neither encouraged or discouraged but it is a fact that a substantial number of teachers do, in fact, participate in Local Government and that in our House of Commons a substantial number of Members of Parliament are former teachers. It remains for the individual to decide whether he will take an active part in political life. There are certainly no restrictions on a teachers rights in this respect save that a teacher may not stand for election at local level in the area of the Local Authority which actually employs him. This limitation on the right of the teacher is one which is applied to all those employees of a Local Authority and is a matter which is now under discussion at national level with the Government. The Union has strong expectations that there will be a relaxation of this restriction and hopes that in future only those officers of a Local Authority in the highest levels of administration will be debarred from standing as candidates for election to the employing Local Authority. Teachers are, however, free to stand for office in the lower tier authorities even in the area in which they work. The restriction relates to the Authority which actually employs the teacher.

In election to Parliament there is no restriction on the right of the teacher to stand for election and to be allowed time to conduct the election campaign. However, upon being elected it is generally accepted that the teacher will relinquish his or her teaching post.

With regard to Local Government office, the teacher would, of course, continue in the teaching post since Local Government office is not a full-time occupation.

There is no restriction on a teacher returning to teaching if no longer a Member of Parliament.

2. While teachers are not discouraged from taking part in political life and activity a teacher is not expected to use his position as a teacher to exert political influence over his pupils or to introduce his personal party political ideas into his teaching. To adopt such a course of action would be considered an infringement of the professional conduct code of the National Union of Teachers and would certainly bring disciplinary action from the employing Local Authority. When the questionnaire asks, however, if it is the responsibility of the teacher to reflect within the school the existing society or through his work within and without the school to endeavour to change society in the interests of the citizens of tomorrow one is posing a much more complex question. The fact of the matter is that in our schools there is no central control of curriculum

and the individual teacher enjoys a large measure of freedom in his teaching activity. There is a considerable freedom of choice in the use of text books and teaching methods and there is no laid down doctrine about the values of society or the political system of the country which has to be embodied by the teacher in his or her teaching. Broadly speaking one would expect teachers to reflect the "liberal" values of our society and where a question arose of treatment of a political question a teacher might indicate his own personal view but be expected to put objectively before the pupils the relevant facts and evidence and opinions.

4. Some of the concepts embodied in these questions really are not relevant to our situation in England and Wales. For example, when in Section 4, it is asked whether teachers are "encouraged" to discuss political life one has to say that there is no official "encouragement" given to teachers either by the employing Authority or by the Government. The question of whether social studies are included in the school curriculum would be largely a question for the Head Teacher and the teaching staff to decide although, of course, the examination system and the views of governing bodies and employing Local Authorities might have some bearing on these matters but not with a view to saying to a teacher or staff that social studies shall be included in the curriculum with a view to promoting discussion of political issues. Similarly, with the organisation of extra curricular activities, there is in fact a good deal of activity of this kind with the encouragement of such activities as debating societies, "mock elections", and meetings with those involved in political party and general political activity. These are, however, for the individual school or teacher to decide and not a matter for the Government or the Local Authority. It has already been indicated above that curriculum is not centrally imposed or directed in England and Wales and, therefore, the degree of freedom allowed to the individual school is very considerable.

Again there is no body which expects teachers to present "only the official explanations of national political life". In any case it would be very difficult in this country to determine what the official explanation of national political life actually was. On the other hand, many teachers of their own choice do provide an opportunity for their pupils to discuss political and social questions as part of their school activity and they do so without society or a Local Authority objecting. It is felt now, as part of the preparation for future life, that pupils should be introduced to the broad political, social and economic issues of the day and enabled to gain an insight into the political system and the organisation of society. These matters would, however, be discussed on a non-partisan basis with the teacher attempting to be as objective in his treatment of them. Although this is a difficult matter we are not aware of any serious problems having arisen as yet for teachers in their handling of these matters within schools.

The questionnaire asked whether teachers are accorded the respect needed to fulfil their role with regard to the explanation of social and political life. Again it is very difficult to determine what degree of respect teachers enjoy so far as society at large is concerned. What one can say with some confidence, however, is that our society has been prepared to trust the teaching profession with a large measure of freedom in regard to curricular matters and teaching methods and with ensuring that the curriculum of the schools is relevant to the individual needs of the pupil and the needs of the community as a whole.

So far as the involvement of teachers in the evolution of national and local policy is concerned, the organised teaching profession would expect to be fully involved in the evolution of national and local policy so far as the development of the Education Service is concerned and in this respect a great deal has been achieved at both national and local levels. On the other hand the teachers' organisations and the profession as such would not expect to play a part in the broader national and local political questions, it being felt that these are matters for the individual as a citizen to decide and participate in and not for the teaching profession collectively to exert an influence upon. The Rules of our own Union, for example, would preclude discussion in the framework of the Union of political and social matters that were not directly related to education and the work of the teacher.

5. While it is true that the teacher is in a delicate position in striking a balance between his freedom as a citizen and his responsibility as an educator on the whole the experience of the profession in England and Wales is that his responsibilities in both directions can be successfully discharged and that the tightrope between presentation of the traditional values of society and the development of the critical faculties of students can be walked without undue difficulty. Certainly we are not able to call to mind any very significant examples from our national experience of teachers having been victimised in their role but we certainly over the years can point to the success of the Union in defending the professional position of the teacher and advancing his professional and civic rights. The Union would, of course, itself take proceedings against any of its members found guilty of a breach of its own professional conduct code in the manner indicated above. Again there has been no recent evidence of the code having to be invoked for this particular purpose.

6. It is certainly accepted by the National Union of Teachers that as an organisation it should be involved in the determination and implementation of educational policy and it is very fully involved in this respect. However, the Union has, throughout its history, maintained that it undertakes its action in this field independent of all political parties and also that its actions shall be confined to those matters which are directly related to education and the work and conditions of teachers and pupils. It has not felt it advisable to undertake action on broader political or social questions and the Rules of the Union are the limiting factor in this respect. It does not moreover take the view that before the educational objectives of the Union can be achieved there has to be overall or fundamental political change on a wider plane. For some this might be felt to be an unrealistic attitude but in the context of our national situation this point of view has secured general acceptance among the membership of the union and in the teaching profession at large. The feeling of the Union's members is

that the essential need is to secure the greatest possible unity of action on matters of educational policy and, given that there is a wide variety of individual opinions on political matters within the Union membership, the only way to secure the desired unity of action is for the Union to act on policies which secure the broad support of the large majority of members and not to become aligned with one political party or point of view. This has meant that over the years the Union has expressed opposition to or support for governments of different political complexions depending on the educational issue under discussion at the time. Certainly it has meant the maximum freedom of manoeuvre so far as the Union is concerned for it has meant that the Union has been prepared at any time to take action within its Rules against the Government of the day if it has felt that the Government is wrong in a decision or a policy. The Union would not take industrial action in the form of sanction on a purely political matter. The action would be on a matter related to education or the interests or welfare of teachers as such. The Union would certainly take the necessary steps to convince the public that the Government was wrong on a given political issue if it felt this necessary in the interests of its policy and the education service. The position of the Union as a non-aligned, independent organisation without political ties is generally well understood but from time to time a Government that was resentful of criticism expressed by the Union on a given issue might suggest that this was due to political consideration. Only in such an eventuality would it be necessary for the Union to make it clear that the reasons for the Union's criticism of the Government were educational and not party political.

The question as to whether open confrontations or behind the scenes negotiations have been most effective as a means of political action is not susceptible of a straightforward answer. There have been occasions when the Union has had to undertake a major public campaign on an issue to try to influence the decisions or policies of the Government of the day and on other occasions behind the scenes negotiations have been resorted to. It would depend partly on the nature of the issue and partly on the political situation in which a Government found itself on a given matter as to what method was used by the Union at the time.

7. As has been indicated in the previous replies, on the whole, because of the Union's constitution, composition and traditions it would not take action on matters which are not strictly related to the Education Service or the work, conditions, or interests of teachers. There are always problems in definition here since on some marginal issues one can logically argue that the matter in question although not strictly speaking educationaldoes have an effect on the education of children. It is a matter of where one choses to draw the line and on the whole the Union has been prepared to take action or make representation on some matters that in the view of its Conference or Executive are related to education or affect the work of the schools. One has in mind, for example, the very effective campaign conducted some years ago on the publication and importation of horror comics. The Union's action in this respect was so successful that the Government were obliged to take action on the matter. From time to time the Union pursues the question of the provision of school meals and has raised such matters as the payment of family allowances for children and the employment of school aged children outside school hours, but in general

these are exceptions rather than the rule. Within the Trade Union Congress the Union's representatives have been allowed a degree of flexibility in deciding whether to vote on matters in fields allied to education such as the social services or matters which affect employees as a whole in terms of trade union rights, but again it has been made clear that within the TUC the Union would not depart from its traditional non-political allegiance and it abstains on a substantial number of questions because they are outside the rules of the Union.

8. The reason for the limitation of action referred to above is very much connected with the wish of the Union to achieve the maximum unity on those issues with which it is most directly concerned. While this does mean that on occasions action is taken on a matter where there are divisions of opinion on the whole the Executive or the Annual Conference would take into account the extent to which members might be divided in their opinion on the matter as to the extent to which it would seek to take action on a matter of that kind. It has always been recognised that the Union is at its most effective when it has the strong support of the bulk of its members on a given issue. On the other hand there is nothing laid down in the Rules about the need for a majority of a given size before action is taken. On a number or educational reforms the Union has taken a strong stand in its representations to the Government or in its campaigning in the country at large even though some members may have felt opposed to the policy being pursued. For example, the Union's decision to press very strongly for the raising of the school leaving age did not have the support of every member and equally its support for the abolition of selection at 11-plus and the introduction of comprehensive education is not a policy that has the support of every member. Nevertheless, these are seen as key reforms and the Union has taken strong action publically to secure their implementation and events have justified the stand it has taken on such matters. To take another example, in recent months of an issue which could be felt to divide the membership, where the Conference and Executive has had regard to the possible effects of a particular decision on the issue in question and has sought to maintain the maximum degree of unity that could be achieved one has in mind certain proposals connected with discrimination against women, and the question of right to abortion.

9. It is, of course, for each organisation to decide how far it will pursue its objectives and campaigns in direct or indirect association with political forces and in particular with political parties. So far as our Union is concerned, we attach a great deal of importance to the maintenance of our non-aligned position but this does not mean to say that in carrying out our campaigns on Union policies that we would not seek to secure the support of political parties. The important point as we see it is that the Union decides in the light of the views and needs of its members what its objectives and campaign targets should be and then seeks such support as it can obtain in the country at large both in terms of the Government of the day and the Local Education Authorities, Associations and individual Local Authorities, the Trade Union movement in the form of the Annual Congress of the TUC and the local Trades Councils, the organisations of parents, the churches and other educational groupings. While it might seek to influence the policies of the individual political parties in relation to its objectives, on the whole it would not seek to

openly ally itself with any particular political party for the reasons that have been set out earlier in this memorandum. It has to be borne in mind that the Union needed to influence the Government of the day and its political complexion in the United Kingdom can change from one election to another. It has to be pointed out that the TUC itself although generally expressing its support for the Labour Party in electoral terms, does nevertheless feel the need to indicate its willingness to work with the elected Government in the interests of its members as it sees it. For the foregoing reasons it has been the general practice of the leaders of the Union, and in particular its Executive members at national level, not to allow their individual political opinions to affect their loyalty and support for the Union's policies and actions. For this reason although an individual may have strong political views and have been active politically those loyalties would be subordinated to loyalty to the Union and its activities because it would be realised by the individual concerned that any attempt to ally the Union with the party of his own political persuasion would be considered damaging to the general interests of the Union. Some people might consider this to be an infringement of the social rights of the leaders as individuals but it would generally be seen within our organisation as one of the inevitable consequences of assumption of national office or indeed prominent local office within the Union.

10., 11. & 12. The considerations which influence the attitude and actions of our own National Union would, to a considerable extent, be seen by the NUT as factors which the WCOTP itself needs to bear in mind. At the same time the Union's representatives to the Annual Congress of WCOTP have appreciated that given the very widely differing national circumstances in which individual member organisations of WCOTP operate there has to be a degree of flexibility in interpreting the terms of reference of WCOTP debate and action. Precisely because we consider it of value for the Union to participate in the work of the World Confederation we accept that the essential basis of such participation is a need to understand the differing national situations and problems of fellow teachers in other parts of the world. It is a matter of judgement at the end of the day on how far we are able to go in deciding that it is essential to give support to the World Confederation even at the cost of taking part in discussions on matters which strictly speaking are only marginally within the framwork of our own constitution for the sake of giving support to other teachers' organisations in other parts of the world whose circumstances differ. There comes a point, of course, where one has to decide "this far and no further" but, as yet, given the good sense which has prevailed in the WCOTP Assembly and Executive there have not been any serious difficulties. There may have been occasions, of course, on which the Union has accepted that a certain decision or course of action is one which some member organisations can support where others may have to abstain. This is exactly the position in which we find ourselves within the TUC. Indeed there are appreciably more issues which arise within the congress of the TUC on which the Union has to abstain.

What the majority of WCOTP has to decide is how far it is important to get the support of the large majority of its members rather than a bare majority or indeed a minority. We think this is the criteria that the WCOTP needs to apply in considering the more "political" questions which from time to time confront it. To those organisations that feel that the Confederation ought to take action on matters which are not strictly educational we think it necessary to say that in the final analysis the degree of support which teachers throughout the world can give to WCOTP policies and campaigns ought to be the paramount consideration and that there ought to be a tolerance on both sides of the argument in the interests of the maximum effective action and unity. On such questions as "apartheid" our Union has always taken a strong stand with regard to opposition to the application of apartheid within education. We have recognised that the application of apartheid does not stop at education but because of our own constitutional limitations we have felt obliged to observe that limitation in respect of any action or campaigning that we might undertake on this particular matter. Just as we seek to understand the position of other organisations in other countries who do not see the matter in perhaps what might be considered so narrow terms, so equally we would hope the other organisations appreciate the nature of our own constitutional and political problems. We would certainly not take the view that the WCOTP should support all cases where action is called for by individual member organisations, simply because the circumstances of the individual organisations can vary so enormously at least so far as any call on the WCOTP membership as a whole is concerned, it may be that the individual organisation is seeking advice and support only from the WCOTP centrally and not asking for the whole membership of the WCOTP to give it support. Again, it would be for the Executive of WCOTP to decide an issue on its merits and certainly after a full investigation of all the circumstances. In our view the basis on which the WCOTP decides how far it should intervene in a national dispute or give support to a particular organisation has worked well given the liberal policies laid down in WCOTP Assembly decisions. We do not see any need at the moment for any alteration in the practice currently adopted by the Confederation.

FINLAND

Suomen Opettajain Liitto (SOL)
Svenska Lärarförbundet i Finland r.f. (SLF)
Opettajien Keskusjärjestö (OK-LC)

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER AS AN INDIVIDUAL

1. -The teachers can freely take part in political life (a)
   -They can continue to teach even if they are elected to political office
   -The parliament membership presupposes leave from teaching. Returning is guaranteed by law.

2. The teachers are responsible for teaching based on the principles and goals mentioned in the curricula. The curricula only tend to develop the students' personal abilities to be used in society life.

3. Some years ago when the comprehensive school system was planned and introduced the teachers' experience was not taken sufficiently into account. Now it has been generally recognised that teachers cannot be passed by in any school reform or educational planning of society; the economic resources of the State, however, do not seem to be sufficient to include all desired reforms.

4. Teachers are encouraged to discuss political life through social studies within the curriculum (a), but also extra curricular activities can be organised (b). The curriculum is centrally determined but this is being done by persons who have experience of teaching. Local school authorities have, to a certain limit, the right to adjust the curriculum to fit local circumstances. At this level teachers are usually represented. An inappropriate school can be changed with the permission of school authorities. Teachers are not allowed to advertise their political stand, but they are free to discuss political problems with their students. Sometimes the students can be very critical if a teacher seems to defend a certain political view.

5. The rights and responsibilities of a teacher as educator and citizen are seldom infringed. The students are rather active politically, especially since the school councils were created, with representation of both teachers and students. The students have their own central organisation, which can be seen as quite active politically.

THE ROLE OF TEACHERS' ORGANISATIONS - NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

6. Involvement in the determination and implementation of educational policy is by the teachers' organisations regarded as most important. They therefore demand to be represented in committee work, which is seen as the most efficient way of influencing educational policy. The teacher organisation can express its standpoint through resolutions, lobbying via a strike, or newspapers, radio and TV. It can ask for negotiations with school authorities or the Government. The most fruitful tactic is to win over public opinion. Many local school problems can best be solved through behind-the-

scenes negotiations. Open confrontations usually require support from the teacher organisation .

7. No action of this kind worth mentioning has been taken by our organisation.

8. Our organisation has contacts with representatives of all parties, but the organisation itself does not take a stand on political matters in favour of any party.

9. It is preferable for the work of the organisation if the leaders of the organisation are not active members of any political parties. This will of course in a certain measure limit the leaders' freedom as citizens.

THE POSITION OF WCOTP

10. The present form of WCOTP for its political actions is the best. There is no idea to plan doctrinaire policies, because in practice there only could be one, and this one policy in facto would be able to suit only one of the member organisations. The informative role of WCOTP is of great importance. The reports from the OECD congress in Paris last year to the Finnish teacher organisations were especially welcome.

11. - 12. To be respected and taken into account the specific gravity of WCOTP must herewith be inclusive. This will not happen if the Confederation only circulates protest statements without being able to take a position itself. We need deeper acquaintance on given national problems and proposed solutions on the basis of the specific local circumstances of that problem or proposal. Other member organisations should be enforced to accept these solutions, so they would be able to show a real solidarity with their colleagues living in countries with different historical backgrounds.

The solutions may furthermore be presented and discussed in successive WCOTP congresses.

In comparison with the above principle, the "political" - "moral" distinction seems to us less workable. Hitherto WCOTP has succeeded well with its many actions. We must hope that member-organisations will always give their full support to the Confederation.

WCOTP has to continue seeking to effectively influence international inter-governmental bodies.

Deutscher Lehrerverband - DL

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER AS AN INDIVIDUAL

1. Teachers in the Federal Republic of Germany enjoy all citizens' rights. They are entitled to take part in the active political life of any democratic party or organisation. As civil servants, however, they cannot be active members in anti-democratic or revolutionary parties or groups without running the risk of being dismissed from their jobs as civil servants. They might also be dismissed by legal disciplinary methods carried out by independant courts if they actually indoctrinate their students towards antidemocratic and revolutionary attitudes. Civil servants are sworn to always defend the democratic constitutional order.

As a rule, teachers are over-represented in parliamentary and political life on state (Land) and community (Gemeinde) level: in the Bavarian Parliament, for instance, 36 members out of 204 belong to the teaching profession. While standing for office, teachers - as all other civil servants - are granted the necessary leaves of absence; on community and (partly) on state level also while they serve their terms after being elected. On national and - partly - state level teachers, as all other civil servants, are granted a leave of absence during their terms of office, together with payment of 40 - 75 % of their last salaries (according to their years of service - plus the allowances of an MP. If their term comes to an end and if they are not re-elected, they are fully entitled to re-enter the profession in an adequate position and status.

2. In the Federal Republic of Germany, the responsibilities for further social progress lie constitutionally with legislation, political parties and public opinion. Teachers participate in this progress mainly as educators in adult education. In dealing with political issues teachers are expected to be objective and to abstain from any political indoctrination.

3. Teachers in the Federal Republic of Germany - as individuals or through their organisations - take influence in the political process mainly in the educational field, e.g. by explaining the educational needs to the public via mass media, political parties, parents' organisations, etc. As individuals, teachers will also influence the parents of their students - as voters - to accent their needs locally, state-wide or nation-wide.

4. Discussions on various political and economic issues are important topics not only in Social Studies. Teachers have a wide, almost unlimited range for such topics. They also have - in agreement with their students - free choices in inviting experts (sociologists, economists, politicians) to explain their views and to stand questions to the students, both during classes and in extra-curricular activities. Student activities, in discussion groups or in student parliaments - will always be fostered by teachers.

Curricula are officially set by state governments, but as a rule through the recommendations of groups of qualified active teachers. Text-books, for instance, are evaluated by teachers; government's decision on approval or disapproval of a - mostly privately published - textbook largely depends on the evaluation of teachers. After that, teachers' conferences (or individual teachers) are absolutely free to choose the text-books that suit their purposes best.

Teachers are expected to discuss critically any political issue brought forward by their students. They are, however, bound to bear in mind the limits set up by the constitution.

Political activities of students, to some extent, have decreased in recent years. During the Sixties, student riots and their follow-ups in schools had caused many educational problems, both in schools and homes.

5. In recent years, a few teachers who apparently had overstressed their constitutional rights of "expressing their free opinions", have been victimised". DL stands firmly for the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany. This constitution might be improved, but it must never be overthrown by any totalitarian ideology, be it fascist or communist.

THE ROLE OF TEACHER OGANISATIONS - NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

6. According to constitutional regulations, in the Federal Republic of Germany no syndical action for political issues is ever permitted - except, of course, the constitutional order itself is endangered. Normally syndical rights are confined to syndical issues: e.g. salaries and working conditions.

Also according to constitutional regulations, civil servants in the Federal Republic of Germany enjoy especially favorable conditions of work and, therefore, are especially obliged to society as a whole and to their pupils. That means they cannot go on strike. In some cases teachers have threatened to refuse special services they were rendering beyond working hours, but only in strictly syndical actions. In recent years, continuous threats of strike-actions by teachers, supported by one of the teacher-organisations, have had a very unfavorable effect on public opinion towards educational issues altogether.

DL firmly stands for open discussions, fair talks, and continuous reasoning: these have proved to be most efficacious as the enormous improvements in the educational field and in the status of teachers during the past 20 years show clearly.

7. "Overall political problems" such as mentioned in the Questionnaire in our opinion are rather within the responsibilities of public opinion, political parties, parliaments, and governments than within those of professional organisations. They are, however, essential parts of classroom discussion and education, and as such of vital concern for any teacher organisation.

8. Deutscher Lehrerverband has information when and where a teacher organisation has been following the politics of a radical minority among its members and, consequently, has lost so many of its syndically minded members that this organisation was forced to return to acting for the constitutionally minded majority among its members.

Being a rather complex organisation, DL has clearly stated that it will take direct action only as a result of agreement by all of its membership groups, and only on educational and syndical issues.

9. By its statutes, DL has clearly defined itself as "absolutely independant from all political parties and from all denominations" on all non-syndical and non-educational issues. Some of our national leaders may be members of one or other democratic political party, but it would hardly be acceptable for the decision-making bodies of our organisation if one of its leaders played an outstanding part in any of these parties. While we are interested in both individual and official links with and direct influence in political parties, any identification with any of these would weaken the effectiveness of our work. DL represents and organizes members of all political and democratic opinions on the basis of a common educational and syndical understanding.

10. In our opinion, WCOTP should continue its policy of trying to represent the "Teaching Profession" as a whole - no matter whether organized in "Associations" or "Unions". We do regard it as one of the strengths of WCOTP that its main guide-line is to serve the Teaching Profession and its educational and syndical aims, which in many cases really are political aims.

11. Deutscher Lehrerverband is convinced that WCOTP should only take "political/moral" decisions when and where they promise to have some effect, and when and where satisfactory information about the actual situation is freely available to all taking part in the decision. WCOTP should - before bringing the matter to a vote - try to bring forward all the information available to it at the moment.

12. In cases of national disputes between teacher oganisations and governments, WCOTP should interfere after discussing the matter with the national member, possibly bringing forward the attitude of international agencies such as ILO, OECD, Unesco or others. That means, WCOTP should firmly stand to the interests of its national members.

ISRAEL

Association of Secondary School Teachers in Israel

Introduction

Israeli society and especially its intellectuals have always been socially conscious and politically active. Most professional organisations conduct the elections of their governing bodies on lines of party-political association of candidates for office. The Israel Teachers' Union (some 30,000 members, mainly primary school teachers) conduct their elections along party-lists almost identical with those standing for national parliamentary elections. Our own Association of Secondary School Teachers does not accept party-political alignment as a prerequisite to professional activism, but does not interfere in any way in political actions of its members or office holders.

Training in citizenship is regarded as one of the tasks of education: the most powerful tool for transforming the old and building a new society from the heterogeneous masses of immigrants from over 70 countries and divergent cultures. Education can greatly influence the process by which the younger generation could be inducted into a positive political culture.

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER

In present-day Israeli life, socio-political happenings - problems of social and cultural integration; improvement of educational and economic norms; the political and military struggle for survival - have a day by day impact on the life of the individual. Teachers, and especially those in the secondary schools, are expected to lead the youth towards a clear understanding of the facets of their national renaissance.

Teachers and ex-teachers have played an important role in the politics of the country. Over 15 % of the members of the present Knesset (the Hebrew name of the Israeli Parliament) belong to this group. Many others are active in local public and political affairs. Their ideologies extend from the extreme left to the extreme right of the political spectrum. As long as their activities do not prevent them from fulfilling their teaching responsibilities, teachers are free to accept any political duties and positions. They are not expected to defend or even present the position adopted by the "establishment" and teachers cannot be penalized in any way for political attitudes or activities.

Israel is still in the midst of a two-pronged struggle: the social and economic integration of its population and the achievement of a stable and secure political understanding with its Arab neighbours. Discussions of these problems are part of the daily life of the whole population and therefore inescapably enter the classroom.

Teachers and pupils, especially at secondary-school level, are encouraged to study and analyse the historical background of the prolonged struggle against persecution, degradation and colonial rule; a struggle which led to the re-establishment of Jewish nationhood in its ancient Homeland. Pupils are expected to clarify their attitudes to problems of immigrant absorption, cultural integration and economic advancement; to analyse and comment on past and present government actions on internal and external relations.

Studies and discussions take place within the framework of history and social studies lessons, as well as in the more open forum called "the form-teacher's period". The latter is an integral part of the daily time-table and its content is usually determined by the class itself. Such group activities are based on press or other media reports, publications (including party-political texts) and in response to lectures given by invited speakers, quite often politicians from both the government and the opposition. It is not uncommon to hear opinions - expressed by teachers and pupils - which would be considered treason in many countries of the world, including those labelling themselves "democratic".

Schools do not encourage party-political organisation of either teachers or pupils within its walls, but there are instances of student groups being set up, mainly by the extreme left. We must stress again that neither teachers nor pupils may be victimized for their opinions, nor has there ever been an attempt at such victimization.

IT IS OUR FIRM BELIEF THAT THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER IS TO INSTILL INTO HIS PUPILS THE MOST BASIC TENENTS OF DEMOCRATIC LIFE: FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND THE RIGHT TO BE HEARD. PUPILS MUST BE TAUGHT, AND ABOVE ALL, SHOWN, BY PERSONAL EXAMPLE, that neither police action nor mass-hysteria - such as has become frequent amongst university student bodies - neither of these must become a tool to be used against unwelcome personalities or "unacceptable" ideas.

Only free and open debate can lead to democratic and liberating action. We consider this the basic rule of political education. We consider this also as one of the primary duties of the educator.

THE NATIONAL ROLE OF TEACHERS' ORGANISATIONS

The Association of Secondary School Teachers in Israel considers itself a partner in any formulation of educational policy; its representatives participate in the work of Ministerial planning committees. They do so by right and not on sufferance. It took many years of professional struggle to convince the government that in order for educational policy to be effective, teachers must be prepared to turn policies into action. This can only be the case if teachers take an active part in the planning stages.

We have in the past taken actions, in the form of sanctions - such as non-cooperation with inspectors and other Ministry officials - as well as strikes, in order to express our concern at the threatened implementation of, in our opinion, injurious educational policy. Such action is taken only after patient confrontation and negotiation. Being non-political, our Association is free from party pressures and our parliamentary lobby reaches all members of the Knesset without exception. It is not the party which matters, but the policy it proposes.

The scope of educational or social issues has never been defined. Our Association would feel itself free to act on any issue which would influence the mental and physical health of our youth, the professional future of its members or the basic freedoms of the population as a whole. Actions taken are based solely upon decisions taken by the Executive and/or the Representatives' Assembly, after careful consideration of all aspects of the issue under consideration.

We feel that teachers' organizations should act whenever human rights are endangered, irrespective of party-political directives or power-bloc pressures. We realise that in many countries in the world today, this is, at most, a dream.

We believe that in order to be able to act freely, a teachers' organisation must not align itself with any political party, though it may, at any given moment, be in complete agreement with it on basic issues. All too often, such alignment will encumber the organisation's freedom of action at a later stage. Teachers as an organised unit should identify themselves with the issue and not with the proponent. At the same time we must safeguard the individual's right of freedom of political association. Only when the political association of a leader of the teachers' organisation leads to his total identification with political forces, should that person voluntarily relinquish his position on the syndical executive body. This was the case in our Association some years ago.

THE INTERNATIONAL ROLE OF TEACHERS' ORGANISATIONS AND THE POSITION OF WCOTP

Our conviction that syndical action taken by teachers can only remain effective as long as their organisations refuse to be politically aligned, is even more basic when considering the international scene.

Let us not forget that countries' political leaderships may change from one extreme to another within a short period: two outstanding examples of such happenings in recent times are Chile and Portugal. And yet such changes may not necessarily lead to the improvement of teachers' professional conditions or to the implementation of their socio-educational demands. Regimentation of teachers and dictatorship in the classroom can be found under various national flags and they remain a blight wherever found.

The time for freely organised intellectuals to speak up is when a political system, be it right, left or center, debases the dignity of Man or sanctifies its actions on religious bigotry, colour of the skin or ethnic grouping. Teachers' organisations, and WCOTP in the lead, should protest when education becomes indoctrination, text-books turn into hate-propaganda or scientific theories into demagogy. We must act when artists are denied the right to exhibit, literary giants exiled or sportsmen banished. Let us cry out when books are burned at the stake, - but let us leave it to history to sit in judgment on Stalin or Mussolini.

The fight against racial discrimination in Africa and elsewhere must be carried on because it is a struggle against human degradation and a stand can be clearly taken. Not so the tragic happenings in Cyprus, where the struggle is a geo-political one. As teachers, we should encourage dialogue and not force: whether it be Turks and Greeks in Cyprus; Jews and Arabs in the Middle East or Catholics and Protestants in Ireland.

WCOTP should encourage its members to educate the world's youth towards mutual respect, free exchange of opinion and honest intellectual analysis of human thought. As an international organisation, WCOTP will not be able to set the necessary example if it be directed by political expediency. We should steer clear of political infighting: a division in our ranks would be even more harmful than the split in the World Trade Union Movement two decades ago.

WCOTP should aim at the inclusion of all teachers' groupings just so long as their members accept the social, educational and humanitarian responsibilities of the teaching profession. It should be prepared to speak strongly in national disputes when teachers are prevented by their government from fulfilling their responsibilities, as determined by the teachers themselves.

On the international scene, WCOTP should foster dialogue and tolerance. WCOTP must take care not to go down the slippery path of intervention in national or intra-national political ferment.

ISRAEL

Israel Teachers Union

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER AS AN INDIVIDUAL

1. The relationship between the part played by the teachers in political life and his or her role in the school

There is no legal restriction to the political activities of the teachers in Israel, as a member of a political party, of a trade union or any other organisation.

There is a restriction concerning school principals - they are not permitted to be candidates for elections to local authorities and municipalities as long as they serve as school principals. There is another restriction: Inspectors and principals may not be candidates for election to the Knesset (Israeli Parliament) unless they resign 100 days before the election take place. However, the resignation is just formal because when they are not elected they may return to their teaching positions.

2. The teacher and his social responsibilities outside the school

Teachers and principals are encouraged to play their role in society, to conduct courses for adults and to organise various cultural activities within the framework of the community. Their role in this field is of special importance in regions which are far from the big cities.

3. The status of the teacher as a respected and influential citizen

The teachers are not encouraged to realise their potential influence in explaining government policies. In Israel as a democracy different political parties function and the teachers as other citizens may belong to any party and play an active role. Yet they are not allowed to take a stand for any political party within the framework of school life. However, in some places teachers play a political role in municipal life.

4. The objective teaching of the facts of political life within the school

Both in primary and secondary schools there is an "educator's hour" during which the teacher discusses with his pupils problems of national and social character and have to give to the pupils an unbiased explanation of various current issues. There are also civics lessons in the upper classes of primary school and secondary school. The curriculum is determined by the Ministry of Education yet regulations in this matter are rather flexible and the headmaster is authorised to make changes by adding or sub tracting hours of study from this subject.

In secondary schools and in some primary schools which have the 7th and 8th grades, there are extra curricular activities as debating societies, meetings with political leaders sometimes also "self government" of pupils. In some cities it is customary that one or two days per year the city management is given to the pupils.

Youth movements also function freely in schools and this develops the pupils' social responsibility and political consciousness.

5. The protection of the teacher in the fulfilment of his rights

Freedom of speech is a fundamental human right of all, teachers included. There was never a case when a teacher was persecuted by the authorities because of his (her) opinions. The Israel Teachers Union includes within its ranks on one hand teachers who belong to the communist party and on the other hand to the right wing parties. As mentioned above, during debates which are conducted in schools, teachers are requested to present to their pupils the standpoints of all sides and all parties. As long as the teacher does not take a one-sided and aggressive stand in a current public debate, he will not be condemned or restricted in his educational work. Teachers are forbidden to instigate violence and terrorism. The same rights are ensured also in Arabic schools as well as Jewish schools. The Arabic teachers are instructed to develop in their pupils a national Arabic awareness, but to be loyal to the Israeli government. They are never restricted in debating national problems with their pupils provided that they are not instigating violence and terrorism.

The Israel Teachers' Union has a tradition of protecting professional rights of teachers. Until now there was no need to intervene in a case of protecting the freedom of speech of the teacher as an educator and a citizen who is entitled to his own social views and political outlooks.

6. Teachers and educational policy

Since its foundation the ITU has been involved in the determination of educational policies. We also have the right to determine on taking sanctions or declaring strikes in matters of educational policies as well as in professional matters.

Criticism on behalf of the ITU is not regarded by public opinion as a direct attack on the government. It goes without saying that the ITU often avoids confrontations and is generally carrying out behind the scenes negotiations. In the last 15 years the ITU has faced a confrontation with the Ministry of education on 3 subjects only: 1) The problem of pre-vocational education (e.g. vocational education in the upper grades of primary school). 2) The reform in the school structure - introduction of middle schools. 3) The problem of regulating class size (the number of pupils per class).

7. Teacher and social policy in general

The ITU takes a stand which is publicly advertised through the communication media in problems such as health services, pollution, sex education, discrimination, conservation and other important problems which are vital and might influence education. However, the ITU will conduct a public campaign for matters which are strictly educational issues.

8. The balance between the furtherance of majority views and the benefits of unity

The ITU embraces teachers of all levels and all trends of education. (We have a Jewish educational system and an Arabic educational system. The Jewish education is divided into national education and national religious education). Teachers of various qualifications are also organised in the ITU. This situation restricts the union in taking political stands. The ITU would generally not take a stand in problems of religious education. The majority avoids taking decisions in such matters in order to preserve the unity of the teachers' union.

9. The link between syndical and political action

The ITU is not attached to any political party although it makes efforts to win the support of all the existing parties in the Knesset (Israeli Parliament). The majority of the members of the central board of the ITU and the officers of the union belong to the Labour Party. Yet, the ITU preserves its independence and avoids getting involved in controversial political issues unless they directly concern educational problems.

10. Policy statements and their application

To our opinion the confederation should draw out its policy according to democratic principles. The WCOTP should take action against the denial of civil liberties and against persecution of minority groups because of religious, racial or ethnic differences. The WCOTP should not determine more doctrinaire policies as it generally depends on the particular circumstances. On the other hand, the confederation should go as far as risking the disaffiliation of some members if and when it concerns taking a stand which contradicts the fundamental principles of democracy.

11. Definition of "political" issues

Generally the confederation should intervene when it concerns protection of teachers and pupils rights. However, there are some political issues which an international organisation of teachers is unable to ignore and must take a certain stand for or against. The resolutions adopted in Nairobi should include such topics as the persecution of people because of their religion, race or political outlook. The confederation should also condemn all facets of tyranny.

12. WCOTP support for its members

The confederation should give its support to teachers who ask for its intervention against their government policy in the field of education if this will not be interpreted as intervention in internal problems or support of an opposition party.

Taking such a stand requires of course careful consideration of all sides which concern the problems and all issues involved (including the government's stand).

We are of the opinion that the confederation should support its national members also in case of a dispute between the national teachers association and their government while negotiating for better working conditions of teachers or education in general. This intervention should of course be done with the utmost care and all other members of the confederation should be notified.

JAMAICA

Jamaica Teachers' Association

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER AS AN INDIVIDUAL

Defining "political process"

The political process involves influencing, being influenced and the translating of resulting pressures into public policies. This represents political activity between those who influence and those who are influenced. Politics is public decision making, and if citizens influence educational policy, then this is a political act and education thereby, because of its public nature, is part of the political process. On the basis of this definition this discussion may proceed.

In many Third World countries teachers are generally the best informed and more educated persons, and therefore are best suited to influence political issues. We think that teachers are obligated, as citizens, to influence policy through their political instruments such as the professional and political organisations.

Since 1944 Jamaican teachers have always played a very active role in politics. In 1944 under a New Constitution there were 32 elected members, 5 of whom were Ministers of Government. Of these 32 elected members, 5 were teachers. Since then teachers have constantly participated up to this level in the political process in Jamaica to the extent that it has now become a tradition.

1. Relationship between his political life and his role in school

We would advocate that his activities be restricted in the class room from proselytizing partisan politics.

Today's children are much more politically alert than those of ten years ago. They are constantly exposed to public issues discussed frequently on radio and television, and sometimes participate in these discussions themselves. Consequently there is an increased awareness among these young people on matters affecting public decisions. The teacher is therefore obliged to discuss politics and public issues with his students. If he fails to do this, he makes the school less prepared to cope with the changing ideas and pressures in society. Further, as an individual the teacher should be able to assess public issues broadly, rationally and hopefully, unemotionally.

In Jamaica when a teacher elects to engage in active partisan politics he resigns from his position temporarily in the school as soon as he is nominated a candidate in any impending election. If he wins the election, he surrenders his teaching position altogether, to carry out his duties as an elected representative; but if he loses, he is free to resume his position in the system.

We are aware that in small communities, the teacher can become unpopular with parents because his political affiliation is known. Despite this possibility we contend that teachers should be free to be involved in the political life of the society. A teacher should regard himself, first as a citizen of the nation. His consciousness of this should lead him ultimately to promote the national interest in a responsible manner and on a non-partisan basis.

The teacher's position is no longer unique, since many more persons are of similar educational standard, and since there is wider dissemination of information by the various news media and by persons who are well informed. Nevertheless, it is even more crucial that various opinions should be put into unbiased perspectives by the teacher, for undoubtedly the teacher's educational life proceeds in a political context.

Teacher's role in the classroom

The teacher is responsible to train the child to develop his discriminatory powers, to approach issues rationally and to discuss issues on the basis of their advantages and disadvantages, their worth, merit or demerit or their relevance to national development. The teacher must at all times be objective in his teaching on the political process and the role of citizens in the process. As a political analyst the teacher must be as objective as possible. His approach to issues must be at once descriptive and provocative in presentation so as to evoke a critical response from his pupils.

Social Studies and Civics are in our Curriculum, Political Science is an aspect of the Social Studies Programm of the Teacher Training Colleges. It deals with various forms of Government. This means that the system recognises the need for "political" education. Our Social Studies Programme aims at the development of the young adult into a sense of commitment. This is brought out by our Curriculum Development Thrust programme both in content and method of approach.

We are encouraged to discuss political life in our schools. We have had model parliaments organised among schools. A free press is available where teachers are able to express strong points of view, and do. What is more, our text books on Civics encourage an attitude for societal concerns. It must be observed that teachers in the Jamaican society are regarded as normal citizens and therefore can participate in public debates. Further, they are not employed as Civil Servants. Consequently they function with a greater degree of freedom than would be the case if they were Civil Servants of the State.

Our Curriculum is determined centrally by government but with increasingly greater teacher involvement in its preparation. It is desirable to have more syllabuses and programmes evolving from within the schools, within the framework of the guidelines given by Central Government. There is now a definite trend in this direction. A most recently enunciated philosophy of the Curriculum Development Thrust is greater teacher participation.

Restrictions in the area of Social Studies lie only in the fact that partisan politics cannot be taught in schools, but politics as a Science is taught. The University of the West Indies for instance, a regional institution, provides political education among its main courses. Certainly the role of teachers at any level of the system involves guiding students and hence initiating interest in social and political affairs, and leading them to recognise that such matters involve the whole society of which they are an integral part. This guidance should lead the students to evaluate society objectively and critically, so that they themselves will see the need for possible change. It is out of the need for possible change that the teacher will have a platform for discussing alternatives, to anticipate future demands of the society.

Perhaps the greatest responsibility of the teacher is to avoid the imposition of his own particular ideas or philosophy on the students. Indeed, the political and near-political demonstrations of students which have become a recent feature in Jamaica may be a measure of the success or failure of attempts at political education.

2. Social responsibility outside the school

Under the colonial system the teacher played a dominant role in the society. He was adviser, doctor, pastor mediator, peace maker and sometimes combined several other roles. Mostly teachers' children opted to enter the teaching profession, and in spite of low salaries then, the teacher existed as he was, generally supported by the society with generous gifts of food and other aids to human life.

This situation has changed. There is greater mobility and more opportunities for other more lucrative occupations because of economic development and technological advancement. The teacher today tends to question his influence in society and now seeks a new definition of his role.

In the small rural community although his status has changed, he sometimes remains the most influential person in the community.

3. Status of the teacher as a respected and influential citizen

To consider this aspect one must pinpoint factors which contribute to the status of an individual. These include moral and ethical standards, wealth and active involvement in community organisation. In general terms the present status of the teacher is somewhat diluted, for a number of reasons. The presence of new leaders in the community e.g. the Public Health Nurse, the Agricultural Organiser, the Social Welfare worker, the Politician and the 'Novus Homo' with education and newly acquired wealth which generally makes him financially superior to the teacher looms large. The influence of greater wealth exposes such a person to a wider outside field of influence. This gives him, in the estimation of his environment, both financial and educational creditability, and hence increased status. The teacher then becomes one among others sharing influence and status.

Status in the rural and urban communities, carries different connotations. The changing status of the teacher in the rural areas is a gradual transition, while in the urban setting the change is more rapid and hence more problematic. The whole environment is completely different, the elements here are more diffuse. There is greater sophistication in modes of life. The concept of social status is copied from the business community and is completely tied up with the more materialistic aspect of life. There is a greater struggle for survival so that the teacher in the urban area may give greater importance to the number of service clubs, to which he becomes affiliated, than to the extra hours he may spend at school. He tends to ape standards set by others in the community rather than assume the role of setting standards. In the rural community, however, there is more coherence and a greater acceptance of the established norms.

Teachers in Jamaica are not restricted deliberately or intentionally whether in their professional or social functions. They have the responsibility, since it comes up in the schools' curriculum, to explain social and political life, to outline problems faced by Government, to prepare for future trends. However in the light of an everincreasing and more enlightened society, on such topics the teacher becomes one among those who are able to perform this function. In most cases the teacher's guidance on such matters is fully respected especially in the rural areas.

Unfortunately however not all teachers in Jamaica are sufficiently involved so that they can be truly committed to the implementation of policy - National and Social. Some are even wary of involvment in partisan politics which may prejudice their individual positions in the eyes of their communities.

ROLE OF TEACHERS' ORGANISATIONS - NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

6. Teachers and educational policy

As is enshrined in our Constitution the Jamaica Teachers' Association ought to display an interest in societal affairs without partiality to political groups. In this way the integrity and creditability of the Association will be such as to command respect from the Government and public at large. This stance, the J.T.A. holds, is the vital ingredient in producing results from its pronouncements and actions. In addition, the J.T.A. represents teachers at all levels of the system throughout the country, and this strengthens its position as a national organisation. In this framework the J.T.A. examines objectively, issues and policies and their implications - pro and con - thus putting at the disposal of Government its expertise. Undoubtedly the J.T.A. has also been able to promote its syndical interests on the basis that they are identical with the National Interest. Consequently the J.T.A. has placed itself in a strong bargaining position. There is therefore a willingness on the part of Government to avoid confrontation. Experience has proven that a Government can be educated into an acceptance of the Teachers' Organisation as a vital force in determining educational policy.

Nevetheless there have been instances in which the J.T.A. has had effective confrontations and strike action in producing short and long term results. Consequently -

a) the Education Law is in the process of revision with a view to its amendment.

b) the J.T.A. has criticized the Education Code and School Boards and these are now undergoing revision.

c) In one instance, a Minister of Education used his Constitutional powers to victimize an outstanding teacher of known party political connection which was opposed to that of the Minister's. The conflict revolved around the appointment of this teacher in an area of crucial political importance to the ruling party, of which the Minister was a member.

The J.T.A. took a firm stand in the issue by submitting the teacher's case to the law courts, with the full support of the total teaching force and a large proportion of the public sector. The battle was fierce and although the Minister won the case on a division among the High Court Judges, the J.T.A. succeeded in making absolutely clear, its policy on the rights and protection of its members.

It must, however, be emphasized here that the threat to such claims as the right to employment, to security of tenure, the right to negotiate, and the right to industrial action, forced the five separate teacher groups in this country, to form one National Body - The Jamaica Teachers' Association. The seed of militancy that characterised the birth of the Association has remained a necessary germ for its future growth and development.

7. Teachers and social policy in general

As already indicated the Teachers' Organisation cannot play as effective a role, if it is unconcerned or silent, on issues - social, educational, political - that assume national proportions. The J.T.A. takes the view that whetever happens in the society affects education, directly or indirectly. Some issues that have recently emerged in our Society are:-

a) National Youth Service programme, whereby students at some point in their formal education, or after, are required to give two years of service in an occupational area of their choice.

b) Adult Literacy Programme, which some claim, absorbs too much of the funds available at the expense of the formal education system.

c) Government motivated Annual Labour Day Programme to foster self-reliance, cooperation and practical participation in projects for National Development through Voluntary Service.

The above mentioned issues have stirred much public controversy, much of it party political, but the J.T.A. has supported the principles on which the programmes are based. However, we have had to state our disagreement with details of planning and procedures and as a result have been invited to participate in their planning and implementation.

8. The balance between the furtherance of majority views and the benefits of unity

In the eleven-year history of the Jamaica Teachers' Association, the principles of consultation and consensus within its rank have been well established. Major utterances and actions of the Association therefore are controlled by these two principles. It seems essential always to obtain a mandate from an overwhelming majority to enter into any kind of drastic action, whether political or otherwise. After all, we have accepted in our organisation democratic principles as our "Modus Operandi", and hence the leaders and the Secretariat of the association must always be accountable to their constituents. However, good leaders are endowed with the quality of influencing their groups into certain decisions. This is an important element when contemplating limited or unrestrained action.

The J.T.A. places no limits on constitutional and legal actions it may take in defence of a principle, or what it conceives to be the interest of the State; but we categorically denounce partisan political action. The gradual introduction of Democratic Socialism as a new system of Government in Jamaica for instance, has attracted our attention, although with no overt public response. However, we continue to examine the merits and demerits of this new system as the programme unfolds. So far, we believe that the central philosophy of equality which is the motive force behind the system is acceptable; but if at any time we were ever to be convinced that the new system would endanger the rights and liberties of the society we would not flinch from a confrontation with the Government.

9. The link between syndical and political action

As an association we see our role as the guardian of the interests of our teachers, as promoters of the type of education to meet the needs of our children and country, and as an agent of change in the process of natioal development. We are guided by principles as outlined in our Articles of Association and our Code of Ethics. We do not accept the principle of aligning with any political group for action on issues, although we may seek public support. We maintain that leaders and members of our Association are entitled to their political persuasions and associations as individual citizens. But they are required to function within the Association according to its constraints. The leader of the Association who is unwise enough to display party political bias within the organization would find his position there untenable.

Recently pressures were exerted by some young members to convert our Association into a Trade Union. The motion was lost on the floor of Conference by an overwhelming majority. The J.T.A. wishes to maintain its identity first and foremost as an organisation with an arm for trade union activities, and with a readiness for militancy when the situation demands it.

The link between the J.T.A. with National forces outside the organisation serves to strengthen rather than weaken it. We maintain constructive association with such organisations, and consequently strengthen support from the public sector on issues of national interest.

THE POSITION OF WCOTP

In terms of numerical growth WCOTP has developed admirably. Surely in a Confederation of such dimensions the cross fertilisation of educational ideas among national groups must be a distinct virtue. In the annual assemblies the ideas that flow can go a far way towards enhancing the development of member organisations. The successes, the hopes, the fears, the initiative from member groups which are all educative elements, are for the benefit of member countries.

It is not an over statement to claim that there are enormous possibilities for world peace which accompany the existence of such a body although WCOTP has largely been subtle in its workings and influence, and thus appears less effective than it is.

With respect to political action that the Organisation may take, it seems limited in terms of the mechanism it may employ to force a decision on a National Government to its satisfaction. It seems more practical to concentrate on educational matters and when political issues arise, to take a decision by consensus in Conference or by communicating with member organisations. We would suggest that WCOTP continues to expand its educational activities especially in regions of great need, to offer its expertise to member organisations, and even Governments, so as to increase its status as a world body. It is this status which will induce Governments to respect its views.

The present practice by the WCOTP Secretariat of informing member countries on matters affecting their colleagues should continue and financial and other support, where possible, should be offered. This is the kind of support that may strengthen a member organisation which is best able to tackle its own problem within its own country. Perhaps WCOTP should work towards establishing the kind of creditability with the UN through which crises in individual member countries may be dealt with. But the emphasis for WCOTP must be on constructive educational activities.

Conclusion

It is without doubt that teacher organisations, wittingly or unwittingly, are involved in the political process. We here assert unequivocally that no teachers' organisation can be divorced from societal affairs, and further it is not desirable that they should be, since teachers have been and are destined to remain the leaders of thought and the fulcrum of development in any nation, despite the new challenges posed from other sectors of the society. With this in mind we must continue to adopt strategies to ensure participation in the political process for the enhancement of education and the development of our several countries to fulfil their highest possibilities.

JAPAN

Japan Education Association

Introduction

(1) Present condition of education in Japan

The confrontation between the Japanese Government and the Japan Teachers Union, which is closely affiliated with political parties and has strong political inclinations, began immediately after World War II and lasts up to the present. This is unfortunate for education in Japan and probably has no parallel in other countries. Nevertheless the mutual distrust between the two parties keeps increasing to cause the conflict in schools between administrators and some teachers to the embarrassment of moderate and impartial teachers, who form the great majority of the teaching force, and their organisations, as well as to the disgust of many parents and general citizens.

If the Japan Teachers Union should continue to be politically active as before, the unproductive confrontations and arguments between the two parties would further be intensified, and the "problem of students", which should be a matter of primary concern to teachers, would be neglected. The existing trouble would be solved overnight if the Japan Teachers Union stopped its illegal struggles and came to agreement with the Government on fundamental issues of education or if it limited its activities to the negotiations concerning "wages and other conditions of service" as defined by law, leaving the settlement of its political demands to politics.

(2) Relations between education and politics

Education and politics are closely inter-related. Politics would determine the fundamental educational policy and provide for school environment such as facilities and equipment. Education would build up a nation which could pass sound political judgment. However, the foremost objective of education is the development of an ideal person, and consequently education is bound to be continuous activity extending over a long period of time. On the other hand, politics is required to deal with and solve the current issues that arise one after another. The aim of education is to bring up the nation of the next generation in accordance with the far-reaching goal of the country, and education should therefore not be influenced by short-range politics.

In order to be free from political struggles or ideological conflicts education should be independent as administration, legislation and judicature are independent from each other, and it is desirable that education remains impartial and neutral to politics. This is a point that should be seriously reconsidered both by the Japan Teachers Union and the Government.

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER AS AN INDIVIDUAL

1. The relationship between the part played by the teacher in political life and his or her role in the school

At present in Japan, teachers enjoy, as other citizens, various rights recognized by law and play a social role as citizens. There was a time in the past when teachers, as an intellectual elite, played an especially important leading role in the society, but they are not playing such a role today. It is inevitable, however, that teachers are subjected to criticism more severe than ordinary citizens when they take actions contrary to "good citizens", because their responsibility is to bring up a "respectable person" and a "good citizen".

Teachers can express their views on professional matters concerning education, either individually or collectively through educational research groups or teachers' organisations, to local boards of education or to the national government. Teachers in public schools, which account for the greater part of schools in Japan, are public servants, and as such are required to serve the citizenry. This results in the restriction of part of their civil rights. For instance, they are forbidden to be actively involved in politics such as taking part in the formation of a political party and assuming the positions of officers thereof, although they have the right to vote and the freedom to belong to a political party. They are also obliged to be politically impartial and neutral and not to favour any specific political party in conducting political education. This is reasonable and necessary, but it is considerably difficult to assure this under the prevailing conditions in Japan.

2. The teacher and his social responsibilities outside the school

Under parliamentary democracy the national legislature is formed by the representatives of the people, who are elected by public vote, and the cabinet is appointed with the approval of the national legislature, and thus the will of the people is reflected in politics. This means that social reform is always realized by a gradual process. Teachers have a social responsibility for education, but it is neither possible nor desirable for them to assume political leadership or hegemony.

What is important is that parliamentary democracy functions properly and that it is not reduced to a mere arena of political or ideological conflicts. For this it is essential that the people acquire an attitude to consider the interests of all above anything else without adhering to personal gains or opinions. It is the duty of teachers to make this possible. From this point of view, too, we keenly feel the necessity of ensuring the independence of the right of education in the same manner as administration, legislation and judicature. Teachers should be concerned not with social reforms like politicians but with the reform of the human mind.

3. The status of the teacher as a respected and influential citizen

The teachers in developing countries are a chosen elite with a deep sense of social responsibility, expectation and awareness. This was the case in Japan, too, in the past, but with the diffusion and popularization of education the social status of teachers has also declined in present-day Japan. To regain the respect of other citizens teachers must have awareness that they are workers but are at the same time engaged in the most noble profession of developing man, and acquire the knowledge and skill required of a profession through self study and in-service training.

It is a timely and appropriate measure that the Government has enacted the "Law for Securing Able Persons" for the purpose of elevating the social status of teachers and improving the quality of education by attracting men of talent to the teaching profession, overcoming economic difficulties.

4. The objective teaching of the facts of political life within the school

As previously stated, for parliamentary democracy to function properly it is necessary for the citizens to be equipped, first of all, with an attitude to ensure the democratic administration of politics. For this purpose schools are obliged to help children and students acquire self-governing abilities by means of children's or student councils. The facts of political life are taught in social studies, but the political education leading to the support of a specific political party is banned by law.

The Government lays down the guidelines for curriculum at its own responsibility, and local autonomous bodies and schools draw up and implement their own curricula on the basis of the national guidelines and taking into account the specific conditions of each locality or school. Textbooks are printed by commercial textbook publishers in accordance with the course of study, which is the nationally-fixed standards, and teachers can adopt the textbooks of their own choice, which scope differs slightly between primary schools and junior and senior high schools. The use of textbooks is legally binding upon teachers, but teachers are not subjected to any special, undemocratic restrictions in terms of the contents or method of teaching provided that they are not against laws.

5. The protection of the teacher in the fulfilment of his or her rights and responsibilities

In Japan as a constitutional State teachers are free in their activities as long as they do not violate the provisions of the national constitution and laws related to education. The final judgment whether their action is illegal or not is, however, naturally made by the court.

Politically there are certain restrictions, as mentioned previously, imposed upon the actions of teachers from the viewpoint of political neutraliry, and there are some additional political restrictions to teachers as educational public service personnel. But their political activities are not totally prohibited.

6. Teachers and educational policy

When teachers consider that a change of educational system and content or social reform as a precondition for educational development is needed, they are guaranteed, like other citizens, the right to resort to legal means of campaigning such as petitions to the national legislature, expression of opinions through teachers' organisations, and demonstrations.

In private schools teachers have the three fundamental labour rights (the right to organize, the right to bargain collectively and the right to strike), but in public schools teachers are, as public service personnel, restricted in actions that might harm public welfare, and they are denied the right to strike.

The teacher has three faces: worker, public servant and teacher, and socially the third face as a teacher counts most heavily. The teacher as a worker is one of the greatest points of political dispute, but we are of the opinion that teachers should not be granted the right to strike because we cannot trust the autonomy and self-discipline of the teachers' union in the exercise of such a right. What should be of vital concern to teachers is to ensure the right of children and students to education.

7. Teachers and social policy in general

The healthy physical and spiritual growth of children and students is a matter of greatest concern to teachers, but the rampancy of vulgar mass communications media detrimental to such a growth is indeed intolerable. The destructions and pollutions of nature are directly linked with environmental disruptions hampering the healthy growth of children and students. We are, as a teachers' organisation, campaigning particularly for curbing the destruction of nature, which has a tremendous influence upon children, through talks with the responsible people of mass media communications and also in cooperation with parents and other citizens.

8. The balance between the furtherance of majority views and the benefits of unity

The major problem is how to unify the afore-mentioned three faces of the teacher as worker, public servant and teacher from the viewpoint of the social role of the teacher. If the teacher selfishly sticks only to his face as worker, and neglects the other two faces, the public criticism against the teacher will continue to increase while the social status of the teacher will decline steadily.

9. The link between syndical and political action

Unlike political parties, teachers' unions are primarily concerned not with political aims but with the improvement of the economic status of their members. Should teachers' organisations be put under the umbrella of political parties, the neutral and public nature of education would be endangered. Political confrontation is so sharp in Japan that schools are feared to be thrown into terrible confusion over unproductive arguments having nothing to do with the development and growth of children and students once political confrontation is brought into schools. Teachers' organisations should keep a certain distance vis-à-vis political parties and take an unbiased policy toward them in order to maintain their autonomy.

The basic thinking of the Japan Education Association

If the process by which the State or the local autonomous body determines and implements its policies is called politics, it may be said that education is also a part of politics in the broad sense of the word. As the separation of legislation, administration and judicature is advocated in politics in the narrow sense of the word so as to eliminate the concentration of power and ensure justice, and is institutionalized in many countries, however, it is necessary for education to draw a line with other social activities such as politics and economy and to preserve its independence. In other words, both teachers and teachers' organisations should politically be impartial and neutral and deal with the Government and political parties from an unbiased point of view. On the other hand, the Government and political parties should refrain from making a political issue of education. It is unfortunate both for the teachers' organisation and also for the people if the former opposes all educational policies of the government and acts like an independent kingdom in the realm of education within a country by proposing goals of education, curriculum, school system and teaching methods of its own.

Where teachers and teachers' organisations are closely identified with a political party and act from a political point of view, education will be placed under the control of politics when the party comes into power. Both teachers and politicians should be discreet in their actions, considering the neutrality of education. In this respect, the following provision of the Fundamental Law of Education is deemed appropriate: "The political knowledge necessary for intelligent citizenship shall be valued in education. The schools prescribed by law shall refrain from political education or other political activities for or against any specific political party."

THE POSITION OF WCOTP

At the 1974 Annual Assembly of Delegates held in Singapore we experienced a fact which runs counter to the definition of WCOTP in its own constitution that "The Confederation shall exclude from its debate all questions involving political, party-political or religious controversy and shall make no racial discrimination." It was reported at the Assembly that the Japan Teachers Union had been subjected to unreasonable repressions, and a resolution denouncing the Japanese Government was adopted with a majority vote. How can an illegal action be permitted in a constitutional State? We can learn this even from Socrates, a teacher of manking more than two thousand years ago.

Since we expect that the international solidarity of teachers will be strengthened through WCOTP, we hope that WCOTP becomes more prudent in doing things and take every possible precaution to avoid political inclinations.

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JAPAN

Japan Teachers Union

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER AS AN INDIVIDUAL

1. Relationship between teachers' part in politics and their role in the school

Japanese teachers in public service, national or local, are prohibited by law from standing for political office, so they must resign in order to do so. If not elected, without any prohibitive regulation they are free to return to teaching if they want to, but there is no regulation guaranteeing this right. The assumption of executive posts in political parties and the support or opposition to a specified political party during the tenure of office are also restricted by law. Any violation of such regulation is liable to come in for administrative measures by authorities concerned.

2. Teachers' social responsibilities outside the school

Ideal and practice often contradict each other. In order to realize high ideals, such contradiction must be surmounted and resolved by all means. To this end, teachers must give just political education to their students today (citizens tomorrow) within the school. In community and society as well, they must carry out as their own civil rights political activities, including enlightenment and adult education. School education itself must of course be "independent" and free from any involvement or interference from Administration. This is strictly provided in the Basic Act for Education.

In point of fact, however, the conservative Government has long been trying hard to nullify this provision and keep the Basic Act effective only in name. Thus, nothing is more essential for teachers and their organisations than to fight against such reactionary moves. To strive for a better society in the interest of tomorrow's citizens (students today) is the heaviest responsibility which teachers carry.

3. Status of teachers as respected and influential citizens

The responsibility of teachers to explain social and political life, to outline the problems faced locally and nationally and to prepare for future trends is, needless to emphasize, as important as anything else. In Japan, teachers are not accorded the respect needed to fulfil this role effectively and, on the contrary, strict restrictions are imposed by law upon them in this connection. Still worse, the conservative policy to restore militarist education and political pressure from reactionary influence supporting such anachronistic education policy are constantly pressed upon them. Difficult conditions are thus cropping up one after another. In spite of all this, Japanese teachers are eager to fulfil their responsibilities as respected and influential citizens as mentioned above. Moreover, they are actively taking part in policy making and legislation, local and national, through the election of their representatives to local assemblies and the Diet.

4. Objective teaching of the facts of political life

Under the provisions of the Japanese Constitution and the Basic Act for Edcuation, Japanese teachers must practice just political education so that the young may learn and love peace, democracy, truth and justice as citizens of tomorrow. In fact, teaching programmes are centrally determined by the Ministry of Education and are imposed on the schools as binding regulations and strictly constrain curricular and extra-curricular teaching activities within the school. It is still worse that the Ministry of Education has made it a rule to exclude strong teacher representation, or professors and union executives supported by the majority of teachers, from the central deliberations on the details of the school curriculum and programmes. Moreover, the Ministry is extremely reluctant to encourage curricular explanations of political life, critical discussions with students and other extra-curricular activities and instead rather inclined to exclude politics as much as possible from textbooks and the curriculum.

Such educational policy naturally stimulates among young students aspiring to truth and justice such dissatisfaction that it is often condemned and discussed at student committees and in the general student movement. For this reason, authorities often allege that teachers are carrying out "ideologically prejudiced education".

5. Protection of teachers

The Japanese Constitution and the Basic Act for Education formally guarantee freedom of thought and learning. In fact, however, teachers are variously restricted in the exercise of rights and responsibilities as citizens. Except in some communities under progressive governments, they are not at all under legal protection for the exercise of rights and responsibilities beyond the limits centrally determined by the Ministry of Education even contrary to the Constitution and the Basic Act for Edcuation.

The JTU, therefore, is seizing every opportunity to fight for the full exercise of rights and responsibilities under the Constitution and the Basic Act for Education, to compensate, in case of need, for moral and economic losses of those teachers dismissed or oppressed otherwise on the ground of campaigns, and to continue fighting for freedom and rights at court and other levels up to complete emancipation. In this respect, the JTU makes no discrimination whatever among members because of thought, religion, sex, etc.

THE ROLE OF TEACHERS' ORGANISATIONS - NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

6. Teachers and educational policy

Overall political change can be said to constitute a necessary precondition of change in educational policy. As Japan is one of the industrially advanced capitalist countries, her educational policy has been forcibly implemented since the middle of the 1950's under the national policy for high economic growth rate. As a result, not a few grave distortions and extremities are brought about to the extent that school education now is in a state of desolation. To break through such an educational deadlock, nothing is more essential for teachers and their organisations than to fight for a fundamental renovation of education through the fulfilment of organizational functions, the autonomous examination of the prevailing situation, the mutual understanding and joint efforts with parents and workers, and the stimulation and appreciation of public opinion on education.

For instance, in spite of all the administrative and legal measures enforced by the Government, the JTU has long been opposed to the nationwide unitary mental test designed to discriminate and select pupils and it finally succeeded in abolishing this discriminatory system. As for senior high school education, it has ably organised parents and workers anxious to promote all the juniors to the senior course with the result that over 90 % of those juniors aspiring to higher education have come to enter senior high schools, marking the complete change of the Government's high school education policy.

7. Teachers and social policy

In Japan or an industrially advanced capitalist country, it is essential for teachers and their organisations to actively strive for social policy. Reasons include, to mention the most important, (1) the cropping up of educational difficulties arising from the steady exodus of population from farming villages and the resultant overpopulation in urban areas (lack of school sites, classrooms, teachers, etc.), (2) the increase of pupils affected by respiratory and ophthalmic diseases due to the air pollution in industrial regions, and (3) the termination of discrimination, if any, in education for traditional "outcasts", the prevention of juvenile delinquency, and so forth. Teachers' organisations are actively engaged in research and investigation of all these issues from the standpoint of education and organise study meetings for exchange of reports and experiences as well as discussions, theoretical and practical. The general public, on the other hand, is expecting a good deal from their struggle and activities in the field of education versus social policy, and even the Ministry of Education and other government quarters have come to make an effort, if not sufficiently, towards the ultimate solution of these educational issues.

8. Furtherance of majority views and benefits of unity

Any organisation of teachers must establish and constantly stick to its own objectives, and it is a matter of course for it to organise political action for these purposes. Prudent discussions, precise deliberations and elaborate considerations in an atmosphere of freedom and friendliness are essential for unity. The JTU has operated in such a spirit.

9. Link between syndical and political action

It is natural for the teachers' organisation to associate and/or cooperate, directly or indirectly, with other oganisations or political forces supporting its objectives and action programme. Such association and cooperation must of course be authorized by the executive machinery, and leaders of the organisation naturally take action in compliance with such executive decisions. The JTU for its part supports and cooperates with political parties, subject to executive decisions, on the one hand, and, on the other, guarantees individual members the freedom of thought and religion and strictly prohibits any discriminatory treatment whatever. In a country like Japan where politics, economics and social status are inseparably related to one another, the link between syndical and political action is something necessary and inevitable.

POSITION OF WCOTP

10. Policy statements and their application

Member organisation differ widely in status and objective, and the countries where they exist have different social systems and institutions. It is inevitable, therefore, that some restrictions are imposed upon the political action of WCOTP. It is absolutely necessary for WCOTP, an influential international organisation of teachers, to take united political action at critical moments, for instance, when any member organization is confronted with a grave issue due to the serious restraint imposed on its basic human rights or the trampling-down of the educational right, and when the cause of peace and democracy is seriously menaced by the steady growth of reactionaries and war-mongers.

Such political action may be designed to influence international intergovernmental bodies (Unesco, ILO, etc.) or may be organised, in compliance with a request from a member organisation, to bring influence to bear upon the government of a country where the applicant organisation is operating. Moreover, it may be organised as a unitary action of all the WCOTP members through democratic discussions and deliberations and the resultant executive decision in the WCOTP machinery. Such being the circumstances, WCOTP ought to work out a draft policy, theoretical and organizational, to be discussed in detail among the member organisations.

11. Definition of "political issues"

It would be better for WCOTP to form a judgment, as occasion demands, from the standpoint of movement rather than to make a strict classification, philosophical or religious, of political and moral issues. If a member organisation is benefited by any WCOTP action, political or moral, and/or is anxious to have such action taken, WCOTP must make a decision upon it in such a case and that case alone. The decision must be made with utmost caution so that WCOTP may be appreciated properly at the international and national levels.

The principles for WCOTP judgment might well follow for the time being the standards pointed out in point 10. Until the final formulation of guiding principles, WCOTP should respect the Nairobi resolution and the resolution adopted at the Singapore Assembly.

12. WCOTP support

JTU has neither dissatisfaction with nor opposition to the principles pursued by WCOTP in the past to support national members. It is quite unaware of any instance in which WCOTP has overstepped the bounds of its responsibilities or failed to act forcefully enough. If such an instance is mentioned by a member organisation, we should like to say that the issue, if any, would be resolved easily and reasonably in compliance with the standards already mentioned in points 10 and 11.

KOREA

Korean Federation of Education Associations

Introduction

The political process may be broadly defined as the way a society organises itself for unity and work among its members and group towards accomplishment of their common goals. In the framework of a nation-state it is the process through which the people organise themselves into power relationships for allocation of resources, privileges and sanction; into productive arrangements for national security, economic development, cultural advancement and promotion of individual welfare as well as for national unity. More narrowly, it generally refers to the social process of struggling for and maintaining power and authority, usually involving both persuasion and force, spontaneity and manipulation, rewards and sanction, general and partisan interests, and education and propaganda. Broadly or narrowly interpreted, the political process in a society is closely related to the political system, the political culture and the political socialisation process of the society in which it takes place.

The political process in the Republic of Korea since its inauguration in 1948 has been characteristic of a pre-industrial developing country emerging from colonial rule. In the broad framework of a constitutional democratic republic, it has been subject to political instability punctuated by revolutions, economic underdevelopment with a vicious circle of poverty and a degree of cultural confusion resulting from a state of rapid social transition. It has been particularly under the influence of such special factors as a tragic division of the land between the North and the South, the devastating Korean War (1950 - 53) caused by the Communist invasion and the ensuing unstable state of armistice. More recently, it has been strongly influenced by the vigorous pursuit of a series of national development plans under strong and sustained political leadership.

Today in Korea there are around 210,000 teachers in over 10,000 schools of various levels. Of these, about 110,000 are elementary teachers, 80,000 are secondary teachers, a little over 10,000 belong to higher education and the rest are classified as miscellaneous teachers. The Korean Federation of Education Associations, established in 1947, has successfully organised all levels of teachers into a unified national professional organisation. Now it has a total membership of 164,737 encompassing 83 % of all teachers in schools at all levels. The KFEA has been quite active, and considerably successful, as an interest group for improvement of the status of teachers on all levels, positively participating in the process of national educational policy formulation and educational planning.

The role of the teacher as an individual and the KFEA as a national teachers organisation in the political process in Korea has changed over the years due to historical and societal conditions. A distinction may also be made between the normative and the existential aspects of its role functions. A general overview of such a role, both expected and performed, will be presented in a historical perspective.

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER AS AN INDIVIDUAL

The teacher as an individual plays, in the main, three analytically distinctive, mutually interlocking but often conflicting, roles in the political process: as a citizen, as an educator and as a worker.

As a citizen the teacher has been accorded a respected and influential position in Korean society. Although the traditional image of the teacher identified with that of the father and the king has gradually faded away, he still enjoys relatively high social prestige. Particularly in rural communities he is generally regarded as a conspicuous figure expected to set models in social and political behavior. The social expectation accorded him as a model man, however, imposes upon him various restrictions, often intangible, producing a sociological stranger, with a rather limited life-space for himself. A more serious limiting factor is the legal provisions categorically prohibiting him from participating in partisan politics. The Education Law of 1949 provides that "education shall not be utilized as a means for propaganda in political and partisan causes" (Article 5) and that "the teacher shall not guide or instigate the student in support or opposition of a political party" (Article 78). The so-called political neutrality clause has been interpreted in such a way that the teacher has been prohibited to join a political party, attend a political rally and run for political office.

The political neutrality principle has been generally justified on two grounds: first the social milieu and the political culture of Korean society might encourage a one-sided pro-government political affiliation were it not for such a neutrality principle; secondly the unity and integrity of the teaching profession might suffer due to schism among opposing camps with uncompromising extreme political views.

While the neutrality principle has been generally accepted in Korea, the application of this principle has not always been consistent. While the pro-government position has often been tacitly endorsed, anti-government behavior has been strictly restricted. In certain cases the boundary between political action and non-political civic activity has not been clear, causing social controversy over the "politicalness" of teacher behavior. This is exemplified in case of a Seoul National University professor who was fired in 1974 as the result of his participation in a political rally severly criticizing the Government and demanding Constitutional amendment.

The teacher as an educator plays a pivotal role in the political socialisation of students through teaching in social studies, morals and other related subjects, and through guidance in the extra-curricular activities of students. He also plays an increasingly important role in out-of-school educational programmes, e.g. adult education classes.

The teacher's role as a curriculum planner is rather limited because of the nationally standardized curriculum and textbooks as well as a centralized supervisory system. There is, however, a considerable degree of flexibility in the standards, actual planning of lessons and the presentation of the curricular contents and teaching materials by the individual teacher. The teacher in the classroom generally enjoys academic freedom within certain legal limitations, such as provided in the National Security Act and the Anti-Communist Law, peculiar products of the hot-cold war between the North and the South in a divided country.

A wide range of extra-curricular activities are carried out under the supervision of the teacher. They are of various types - academic, cultural, religious, recreational and athletic. These are regarded as an influential factor in the development of the political attitudes among the youth. In recent years, the problems caused by the generation gaps and the credibility gaps have often been the causes for student unrest in some colleges and universities. In narrowing those gaps and resolving the problems, the importance of the teacher's role has been increasingly emphasized and consequently measures have been strengthened aimed at improvement of the teacher's guidance role.

Since the late 1950's the concept of the community school has been emphasized in Korea. In more recent years, particularly since 1972, the Saemaul Education or Community Development Education programs have been carried out throughout the country in parallel with the Saemaul Movement, which literally translated means the New Village Movement. In this connection the roles of the teacher in out-of-school educational activities, e.g., adult education programmes, have been increased, opening a new dimension in Korean education and creating new problems for the teacher, e.g., increase of the work load.

The teacher's role as a worker may be viewed in the perspective of the protection accorded him in relation to his rights and responsibilities. In this regard it may be pointed out that one of the great privileges of the Korean teacher is his security of position with full protection accorded him through legal provisions and administrative practices. Except for a criminal offence he may not be arrested without permission from the principal; without due procedures as established through legal provisions, he may not be penalized against his own will; in case of disciplinary actions taken against him, he is guaranteed his right to defend himself and to appeal injustice done to him.

Infringement of the well-guarded teachers' rights, however, has been occasionally reported. For instance in the eight-year period, 1967-74, a total of 120 cases of infringement of teachers' rights were reported, involving unwarranted personnel administration, use of force, damage to honor, etc. Of course, it is easy to surmise that there were a number of unreported, even no less serious, cases of infringement of teachers' rights.

THE ROLE OF THE KFEA AND THE POSITION OF WCOTP

The KFEA has long been involved in the process of formulation, execution, and evaluation of educational policies. As the only, unified, professional organisation of teachers, it has been a major social force affecting most educational policies, as developed and implemented in Korea. While the KFEA's participation in educational policy formulation has been extensive, almost all-pervasive, its most significant roles have been played in the following connections: 1) promotion of local autonomy in educational administration, 2) increase of teacher salaries, 3) protection of teachers' rights, 4) reforms of entrance examinations, 5) promotion of private schools, and 6) improvement of educational financing, some details of each are given in the following pragraphs:

1) The KFEA was the major force in checking the strong movement launched by the Home Affairs Ministry in 1953, 1955 and 1957 to abolish the school districts and the boards of education, the machinery for local autonomy in education administration. The KFEA, through its Committee for Local Autonomy in Education Administration established in 1958, advocated some positive plans for the establishment of the provincial boards of education and other measures for improvement of the local educational administrative system. In early 1960's the KFEA acted as a strong pressure group in restoring the local autonomy of educational administration when it was nearly abolished following the Military Revolution of 1961. The existing system of local autonomy in educational administration, implemented since 1964, has the provincial boards of education as the basic educational administrative unit.

2) The KFEA as an interest group has been particularly concerned with improvement of teachers' salaries. In 1953, when the Presidential Decreee prescribing teachers' salaries was in preparation, the KFEA made recommendations concerning them. Since then the KFEA has been very active in helping to secure improvements for salary schedules, e.g., the single salary scale for elementary and secondary teachers, establishment of various allowances for teachers, shortening the period required for promotion and salary increments, and the publication of surveys on teacher salaries.

3) The KFEA has also been greatly concerned with protection of teachers' rights. Through its Committee for Protection of the Teaching Profession and its successor the Teacher Rights Protection Committee, it has been constantly vigilant of injustices done to teachers; it has provided teacher counseling services and it has provided teachers with legal and administrative protection. As mentioned previously, between 1967 and 1974 it treated cases of infringement of teachers' rights.

4) The KFEA has been deeply involved in various reform policies and movements in education. It was the major promoter and chief supporting organisation for the so-called middle school non-examination admission policy enforced since 1968. On the occasions of reforms in the entrance

examination system and examination policies, it voiced its concerns and expressed its viewpoints, thus influencing policy direction in one way or another, concerning these questions.

5) The KFEA has also been concerned with the problem of promoting private schools, which today comprise roughly one half of the secondary schools and two-thirds of the higher educational institutions in Korea. Through its Committee for Promotion of Private Schools it actively participated in the process of formulating the Private School Law in 1963 and subsequent amendments to that Law. It was a major promoter for government subsidies for private middle schools and high schools following the enforcement of reform policy in the entrance examination system in 1968 and 1973.

6) One of the significant areas of policy concerns for the KFEA has been educational financing. It has been a strong supporter of the so-called 20 % allotment plan which calls for the allotment of 20 % of the total national budget for education in the development of the Long-Range Educational Plan, 1972-1986. Although the plan has not yet been adopted by the Government, the KFEA is constantly pressing for its adoption. The KFEA also was the prime promoter of the School Support Association system as implemented in 1970 and, more recently, in 1975, it has made a series of recommendations for improvement of that system.

The KFEA's participation in educational policies has been done through various channels, such as petitions, recommendations of various special commissions, conferences, open rallies, behind-the-scene negotiation, public hearings, studies and publications, e.g. the Saehan Weekly and the Saekyoyuk Monthly. In this connection it should be pointed out that the KFEA has never endorsed teacher strikes and that it has generally resorted to persuasion and negotiation rather than power or force. It has seldom resorted to open confrontation with the Government.

The KFEA has also from time to time expressed its views on broad social policies other than educational policies. Some of the areas of concern for the KFEA have encompassed the following: population, pollution, national unification, the Saemaul or community development movement, conservation, and international understanding. Since most of these problems are of nonpartisan character no occasion has been reported of public controversy or confrontation with the Government. The KFEA policy statements on some of the social problems have tended to reinforce the national consensus, rather than to take issue with any partisan groups or organisations. Strictly speaking, however, no social problem is free from opposition and therefore the KFEA position might have been challenged by some groups, had it been more widely publicized.

In the past experiences of the KFEA in its involvement in the political process, the matter or balance between the furtherance of majority views and the benefit of unity has been a delicate matter. In terms of membership, the KFEA was, up to the 1960's, predominantly elementary classroom teachers. In the representative system of delegates and decision-making an attempt was made in the past to maintain a balance between the elementary teachers on one hand and secondary and tertiary level teachers on the other hand; also between administrators and classroom teachers. Despite such an attempt there tended to develop some differences of view between the groups in regard to the goals, modes and effects of political participation. For some times in the 1960's there even existed a danger of the KFEA greatly weakening its unified organisational function as the result of its tripartite division. Today such a danger has been overcome, but the subtle problem of the differences of views still persists in regard to the KFEA's involvement in the political process - what to be involved in and how to be involved. Generally speaking, the classroom teachers, particularly those on the elementary level, tend to be more militant and action-oriented and they also tend to be more concerned with the improvement of their economic status. In this connection it may be noteworthy that over 20,000 classroom teachers, mostly elementary, attempted in early 1960's to organise themselves into a teacher union separated from the KFEA. Although such an attempt was made illegal through new legislation in 1963, prohibiting teachers to organise unions oriented towards collective bargaining and collective actions, the undercurrent persists even today.

It has been pointed out that the teacher organisation in Korea is limited in its range of syndical and political action through legal provisions prohibiting the organisation of teacher unions and participation in partisan political activities. The KFEA therefore has generally limited its scope of activities within certain bounds, avoiding collective actions and partisan politics. This has been regarded as either a strength or a weakness of the KFEA as a professional teacher organisation, depending upon the viewpoint and the perspective.

In concluding the Korean national report on the subject, a few words may be added as to the position of WCOTP in relation to the theme. In our considered opinion, the WCOTP should remain a loosely organised confederation of teacher organisations with divergent political views and orientations. WCOTP is in no position to make unified policy statements relative to the appropriateness of political processes. Exceptions might be found where broad consensus is found in such matters as the quest for equality of educational opportunity or the promotion of human rights. The WCOTP's position may be weakened, rather than strengthened, if it starts to declare doctrinaire political policies which may result in disaffiliating some members.

The distinction between political and moral issues is vague and it should remain as it is,being left, as it were, to its natural course of consensus development. It seems wise for WCOTP to continue its present policy of making issues thoroughly known among its members: of keeping members informed of the divergent views and standpoints of its members without taking sides. In this connection we also believe that WCOTP's support for its members against their governments should be kept to the minimum fundamental principles related to the rights and responsibilities of teachers. In this connection, however, it may be advisable for WCOTP to define more clearly the extent of consensus among members relative to such fundamental principles.

LIBERIA

National Teachers' Association of Liberia

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER AS AN INDIVIDUAL

1. The relationship between the part played by the teacher in the political life and his or her role in school

As citizens, teachers are permitted to take part freely in political life in Liberia. For example, they attend local party meetings, serve as tellers at elections, and represent the local party on delegations to the National Headquarters while teaching.

Teachers can stand for both local and national office while teaching, and may return to the profession after holding political office. Many teachers have been elected to the national legislature; others are mayors of cities, and some are officers in the local parties.

If elected to political positions, they have to resign.

2. The teacher and his social responsibilities outside the school

It is expected of teachers that what they teach in school is for the good of the students and their society. Though it is their right and liberty to be independent and objective in their teaching, to reflect, through their work, within and without the school, the existing society, to endeavor to change the society for its good, nothwithstanding, they are expected to boost or project the political image of the leaders or the political party and to show only its positive aspect. Any negative or critical attitude or remarks are regarded as criticism and must be avoided, if the teacher wishes to "keep his job". This holds true for teachers from K - University.

3. The status of the teacher as a respected and influential citizen

Teachers' influence is generally and somewhat deliberately restricted by the indirect and direct pressure they are under. Theirs is not so much to analyse as to teach what has been put in the curriculum. They are not usually consulted in the making of national policies even on educational matters. However, with the policy of the present administration of the country to get the people totally involved "to lift the nation with all the speed at our command to still nobler achievements and higher heights, (in order) to galvanize this nation into a more powerful, dynamic and progressive one, with speed, efficiency, honesty, excellency of performance and economy of operation," there is an awakening consciousness, on part of teachers, of their responsibility of explaining the problems of the government, the social and economic conditions of the people. Consequently, they are expected to state problems faced by Government and give hope for the future.

4. The objective teaching of the facts of political life within the school

Within certain limits, teachers, through social studies, debates, at assemblies and on occasions, discuss the country's political life. And discussions as such emphasize the positive aspects and are limited to generalities if they go beyond the status quo.

In addition, Liberia's international image and an understanding of some international United Nation Agencies are taught through model United Nations programs (United Nations Day especially), special guest speakers at schools, television and radio programs during the Celebration Period and Education Week.

The country's educational system is centralized. And the curriculum is determined centrally. In both private and public elementary and secondary schools, to graduate, students must meet the requirement of the prescribed curriculum. Because of this and imported textbooks, there is almost complete uniformity in information. It is the innovative teacher who enriches the textbook materials. Although some social science books are written by Liberians, yet they tend to be a record of problems and achievements but not very much, if any, analyses of problems and issues.

Determining the curriculum is done by authorities in the Ministry of Education. And educationists outside the Ministry are partially involved in curriculum development.

There is hardly any free critical discussion; the society objects to any comments which reflect negatively on it. Students therefore do not take active part in political activities. The voting age in Liberia has been lowered to age 18, and it is too early to know whether voters of this age group will be permitted to actively participate in the ensuing political activities in 1975.

5. The protection of teacher in the fulfillment of his or her rights and responsibilities

As mentioned earlier, the teacher does not have the freedom to be critical. Usually, he is expected to "stay out of politics" and do his teaching.

Recently, a professor at the University lost his job for his political critical statement and the faculty took a strong position. He was re-instated, but after a year of not being silent, he was finally dismissed, regardless of the protest by the majority of the faculty.

THE ROLE OF TEACHERS' ORGANISATIONS - NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

6. Teachers and educational policy

Teachers have been invited to participate in a few educational conferences at which their views and recommendations have been sought on educational issues which needed policy decisions. However, as an organisation, such an invitation has not been extended to the National Teachers' Association of Liberia. The organisation can achieve its educational purpose of being involved in the determination and implementation of educational policy by its adoption and implementation of resolutions on matters as such, and also by negotiations with the highest educational authorities - the Ministry of Education.

Rather than seeking overall political change, the organisation can seek political evolution; for overall political change is not necessarily a pre-condition of change in educational policy.

Strikes are now illegal and even if the National Teachers' Association desired expressing its disapproval by such means we would all be law-breakers and would be dealt with accordingly.

Attempts at educational conferences or seminars to exert pressure on government's position on particular educational policies or issues are not usually considered attack on the government. Rather such attempts usually create conditions for modification of some policies on some educational issues. Example of this is the workshop held in November 1974 in Monrovia on Educational Planning for the Modification of Some Educational Policies and Programs.

An example of the effect of negotiations is the equalization, in 1974, of the salaries of teachers in Maryland County, the eastern region of the country.

7. Teachers and social policy in general

One example of issues which are school-related and warrant direct action by the Association is the current rapid world population growth, its consequences for economic growth and social equity, its effects of income inequity, unemployment, shortage of food.

The Association undertakes the distribution to Liberian schools of the Bucharest Teachers' Plan of Action and other papers on population published at the 1974 Bucharest Population Tribune. The population problem with its consequences is a great concern of the government. The government therefore supports whatever action to cope with the problem.

8. The balance between the furtherance of majority views and benefits of unity

Frankly, NTAL does not undertake political or syndical action that puts it in position for struggle which can sap its energy and strength. The Association's main approach for furthering majority views which are usually adopted in resolutions is negotiation. It is by this approach the Association strives to further majority views and at the same time preserve the existence and unity of the Association.

9. The link between syndical and political action

Our organisation has not yet developed to this stage of strength. Any attempt to associate with forces outside the organisation would be illegal and the National Teachers' Association may be considered "an enemy of the state".

THE POSITION OF WCOTP

10. Policy statements and their application

It would seem more in the interest of the WCOTP to take a middle line so as not to create a "strong opposition atmosphere" or lose some of its members who might be more helpless when disaffiliated with WCOTP. Means would be sought whereby organisations which are in "closed" societies can be helped over a period of time to exert its influence.

11. Definition of "political" issues

WCOTP should compile all issues in three categories:

a) those that many view as moral

b) those that many view as political

c) those that are not clearly defined.

12. WCOTP support for its members

WCOTP should not get involved in supporting national organisations against government actions of which national members disapprove. Such involvement can lead to the organisations being denied travel to attend WCOTP meetings, thus denying us access to the only open international educational forum.

Malta Union of Teachers

Introduction

The term "political process" was defined by WCOTP as the way society organises itself. Throughout this report we try to examine the role individuals or groups play in the political process. This role can be (a) social, (b) economic, (c) educational and (d) political. In particular, this report studies the role of teachers and teachers' organisations in the Republic of Malta.

Before embarking on this study, it would be worthwhile to point out:

(i) that there are two principal political parties: the Malta Labour Party, now in power, and the Nationalist Party.

(ii) That teachers in State Schools are Government employees and their conditions of service are governed by Estacode which includes the following provisions regarding political activities:

" 7.1.7. Political Activities

7.1.7.1. It is of the greatest importance that public confidence in the impartiality of the Civil Service should not be impaired in any way. For this reason activity in the political field, legitimately open to the ordinary citizen, is not considered compatible with the holding of certain posts in the public service.

7.1.7.2. The following grades are precluded from indulging in any political activities:

(a) all administrative, professional (with the exceptions indicated at sub-paragraph 7.1.7.5), general service, executive, technical, and other departmental grades above the Higher Clerical Officer level;

(b) all supervisory, manipulative, and minor grades in the Postal and Telephone service; and

(c) all messengers, telephone attendants and fatigueman.

These grades are required to maintain a reserve in political matters and abstain from any public manifestation of their views which might associate them prominently with any political party. In particular they are debarred from all political activities, such as:

(a) being adopted as parliamentary candidates;

(b) holding office in party political organisations impinging on the political field:

(c) speaking in public on matters of political controversy;

(d) expressing views on political matters in letters to the press, or in books, articles or leaflets; and

(e) canvassing on behalf of parliamentary candidates of a party.

7.1.7.3. It is open to the following grades to apply to the Prime Minister in advance for express permission to engage in the limited range of political activities at (c), (d) and (e) of sub-paragraph 7.1.7.2.:

(a) the general service clerical classes viz : Clerk Typists, Shorthand Typists, Clerical Officers and Higher Clerical Officer; and

(b) departmental grades parallel to (a).

7.1.7.4. Grades other than those covered by sub-paragraphs 7.1.7.2. and 7.1.7.3. are free to indulge in political activity. They are normally permitted to stand for parliament, provided that:

(a) they apply for special leave without pay to cover the period from the day of nomination to the eve of polling day, both days included. Such leave is to be applied for at least seven days before nomination day;

(b) they resign their appointment with effect from the first day of polling.

If such officers are not elected, they are reinstated as if they had not resigned their appointment. If elected, they are entitled to reinstatement if they cease to be members of parliament after an absence not exceeding five years and provided they had completed not less than 10 years' service prior to election. In other cases applications for reinstatement are also sympathetically considered. In all cases of reinstatement, the period of resignation is considered as special leave without pay not on grounds of public policy i.e. the period is not reckonable for superannuation and increment purposes, but is considered as bridging the gap between two periods of reckonable service.

7.1.7.5. R.U.M. Teachers Any public officer who is a teacher at the Royal University of Malta and who is not by the terms of his employment prevented from the private practice of his profession or called upon to place his whole time at the disposal of the Government is free to indulge in political activities. If elected as a member of the Legislative Assembly he is not required to resign his appointment under the Government.

7.1.7.6. Political Discussions. Public Officers in whatever grade are invariably barred from indulging in political discussions or any other political activity during working hours or on official premises."

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER AS AN INDIVIDUAL

1. The relationship between the part played by the teacher in political life and his or her role in the school

The Maltese teacher is a citizen, but it seems that this does not cover all the civic and personal rights that it implies. The following are some examples to illustrate this point:

(i) he cannot act as a juror: this preclusion also applies to Medical Practitioners, Health Inspectors and some other Government employees;

(ii) he cannot write in the press or take part in broadcasting or on television without the written permission of the Director of Education;

(iii) he cannot act, not even on a voluntary basis, as editor of a paper without the express permission of the Government and under very strict conditions;

The restrictions at (ii) and (iii) apply to all Government employees.

2. The teacher and his social responsibilities outside the school

(A) Teachers are allowed to take part in various activities as long as they are non-political. In fact appeals are often made to them, even by Government, to take part in voluntary activities of a cultural, social, religious or sporting nature - indeed it seems that some times too much stress is laid by Government on voluntary activities.

(B) Here one has to distinguish between two types of voluntary activities:

(i) Voluntary Organisations - which, in certain cases, may be said to depend on teachers both for membership and for officials on local/national committees. This is a well established fact, although no statistical data is available. Teachers in such organisations may also come under political fire.

(ii) "Government sponsored" voluntary activity - which may, or may not be, directly connected with Education but which generally concerns Government programmes. These include Summer Camps, Sports Activities, Duke of Edinburgh Award Schemes, Extra-curricular activities, National Festivities and Carnival. During these activities, teachers are generally expected to lead parties of school-children. They are expected to follow the rules and instructions given to them by Organising Committees in wich, more often than not, teachers are not represented. Decisions, even where voluntary activities are concerned, also come from the central authority.

(C) Because of what has been stated above, it is clearly seen that teachers, as a body or as individuals, have little say in the evolution of national and local policy. A good number of teachers understand too well that they are frequently picked upon as scapegoats and therefore tend to avoid taking part in the political process. To ensure that their teaching is "independent", they have to follow the Government prescribed syllabus, which is formulated without teacher-consultation, and have to bear the consequences of being pulled up if they deviate from it or if they are in any way critical of Government.

It seems that the Maltese teacher is still largely expected to instruct rather than teach.

3. The status of the teacher as a respected and influential citizen

(A) (i) In the present national situation, teachers are not often encouraged to realise their potential influence. Public activity is sometimes deliberately or unintentionally restricted.

(ii) The criticism by certain authorities levelled at teachers e.g. indifference, wasting time, short hours, long holidays, etc. undermines the status of the teacher, especially in the eyes of the uneducated section of the people.

(B) As far as the explanation of social and political life is concerned, teachers may discuss political life, in general way, through Social Studies (which we call Civics) within the curriculum. But :

(i) the curriculum is determined centrally by Government;

(ii) textbooks or any other teaching-aids were Civics are concerned - as in many other subjects - are either inappropriate or non-existent;

(iii) Social Studies is not given sufficient importance, because:

(a) only one or two weekly lessons are allowed for the subject;
(b) necessary teaching aids are lacking;
(c) it is not an examination subject.

All this and other points previously indicated show that the Maltese teacher is considerably handicapped in realising his potential influence.

4. The objective teaching of the facts of political life within the school

(A) The need of character formation for the effective citizens of tomorrow has been emphasized in the past especially by youth voluntary organisations in which teachers have always taken a very active part. (As far back as 1969, teachers had a big hand in organising a Human Rights Seminar). The right to vote at 18 was introduced in 1974, while the school-leaving age was raised to 16.

(B) But it may be said that teachers are not encouraged to discuss political life (a) through the curriculum (vide 3 above), nor (b) through organisation of extra-curricular activities.

(C) Students and teachers, however, are often addressed in school congregations, prize days or other special occasions, where they are told what is expected from them. There have been cases in the recent past when teachers have been devalued and their authority undermined by the former Minister of Education. It may be of interest to point out that mid-day activities organised by teachers in schools were stopped three years ago because the Minister of Education refused to accept an MUT claim for equal remuneration for such activities in Private Schools which is enacted by law.

The result has been the employment of non-teachers who merely supervise and cannot organise extra-curricular activities.

(D) Teachers, therefore, are free to teach politics only to the uncertain degree that society does not object.

5. The protection of the teacher in the fulfilment of his/her rights and responsibilities

(A) Legally, the teacher has only one protective clause in his favour - students may be accused of obstructing him from fulfilling his duties as a public officer. But this is reserved for rare occasions. When there is a clear case of violence on teachers by outsiders committed on school premises, Government ex-officio institutes Court proceedings.

(B) Cases of victimization are taken up by the Malta Union of Teachers with Government. Charges are issued - usually with a view to dismissal - on the most trivial pretexts. The Malta Union of Teachers has assisted a number of teachers involved in such cases. There were also cases of teachers being assaulted by students and parents, when the Malta Union of Teachers afforded legal advice and assistance. A case in point which happened recently was when a number of relatives of a student entered the school premises and hit a teacher on the head with a chair causing concussion.

THE ROLE OF TEACHERS'ORGANISATIONS - NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

Introduction

In Malta, teachers' organisations could be grouped under two headings:

(a) trade-unionistic: the Malta Union of Teachers, which caters for teachers in the primary, secondary and higher educational establishments both Government and private, which now incorporates also the Headteachers Association; the Secondary School Teachers Association, which caters for only a small number of secondary school teachers (the overwhelming majority are in the Malta Union of Teachers); and the Association of Teachers of the University of Malta, which caters for Malta University staff - an area in which the MUT does not campaign for members.

(b) cultural: within this group we may include the various "professional" voluntary associations related to educational subjects as History, Maltese, Remedial Education, Home Economics, Art, etc., the Graduate Teachers' Association which sometimes acts as a pressure group in the interests of graduates; and Parent-Teacher Associations which seem to be more appreciated in private schools than in state schools.

6. Teachers and educational policy

(A) Though the Malta Union of Teachers has always sought to be actively involved in the determination and implementation of educational policy, the Government very rarely consults teachers' organisations when formulating educational policy. A proof of this is the way the Education

Act 1974 was enacted. A no point was the Malta Union of Teachers even told of its provisions, let alone consulted or asked for its views.

(B) The teachers' organisations should take the public in their confidence by expounding the teachers' case so that the public feels that the teachers are fighting the people's battle for their children to have a better education and not only for financial benefits.

(C) The Government is far too sensitive to any criticism which is invariably interpreted as being politically motivated.

(D) To counteract such an interpretation, teachers' organisations need to be constantly active by:

(i) maintaining constant public relations;
(ii) asking for meetings with Members of Parliament and other bodies to press their points;
(iii) providing full information to teachers;
(iv) appealing to international bodies to support them where necessary.

7. Teachers and social policy in general

The Malta Union of Teachers has long been asking for the introduction of nursery education and full health services in schools.

8. The balance between the furtherance of majority views and the benefits of unity

The Malta Union of Teachers has always tried to steer clear of being identified with any political party. The Statute clearly states that the Union shall be totally independent of all political parties and/or movements activities. Locally this strengthens its action as it leaves the Union free to criticise whichever party is in power.

9. The link between syndical and political action

(A) **Vide paragraph** 4 above.

(B) It should be noted that the association of the organisations with other trade unions, its relations with other organisations and national bodies, including the Church, could have an effect on its strength in relation to the party that happens to be in power. In the present situation any criticism against Government is tantamount to direct political opposition.

THE POSITION OF WCOTP

10. Policy statements and their application

A World Confederation should speak on issues which teachers' organisation from all over the world feel strongly about. The Executive Committee of WCOTP, being made up of representatives from different parts of the world, is an adequate safeguard.

11. Definition of "political" issues

We agree with the interpretation of what constitutes a "political" issue and the three-stage action to be taken as enunciated on page 6, para II.

12. WCOTP support for its members

(A) WCOTP should support any affiliate organisation that asks for help. The present policy as regards WCOTP intervention is to be continued.

(B) WCOTP should not hesitate to take "coercive action" itself to protect national organisations. This could take the following form:

(i) by imposing "sanctions" against national governments which tend to ignore the rightful claims made by trade unions;

(ii) by supporting the case of member organisations in their disputes with governments before such international bodies as Unesco, ILO, Council of Europe, etc.;

(iii) by financing propaganda to strengthen the organisation of national trade unions and by providing experts to give advice;

(iv) by publicising the cases of national member organisations.

New Zealand Educational Institute

A group of Senior Officers in the Institute have studied the theme for this year and I think it would be helpful if I could give a preamble before I answer the questionnaire.

New Zealand is a small country (population about 3 million) and it is very homogeneous politically. It is even claimed that there is very little difference between the two main political parties which do not polarize simply as conservatives and liberals. The National Party tends to be the party supported by farmers, business men and professional groups, while the Labour Party tends to be the party of the workers and the intellectual radicals. However, the above would be a sweeping generalisation unacceptable to most New Zealanders. Aspects of the National Party programme can be very liberal, the Labour Party can in some areas be extremely conservative, while the membership of both parties is quite diverse. There would be representatives of almost every sector of the community represented in both parties.

Political issues therefore do not divide New Zealanders strongly, no one has to fear a change of government as may be the case in some other countries. Social conditions are fairly stable, there are no extremes of wealth and poverty and "law and order" is not the issue that it becomes in other countries.

Our members feel that it is necessary to give you this background. We believe that in the major area of individual participation in politics, and the role of our organisation in politics, we are very much "babes in the wood" compared with tensions and realities of some other countries where this sort of participation can mean, if not a question of life and death, then at least a question of keeping a job or suffering economic and personal discrimination. When these areas are discussed at the assembly of delegates our representatives will be interested listeners rather than contributors to the debate.

Knowing as we do of the privation suffered by teachers in other countries where they are engaged in a desperate struggle for human liberties we feel quite inexperienced to make comments in some areas.

Against that background we are submitting the following answers to individual questions:

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER AS AN INDIVIDUAL

1. The Relationship between the part played by the teacher in political life and his or her role in the school.

Teachers are encouraged to take part freely in political life. They are given leave without pay if they wish to stand for political office, and can return to teaching if they are not elected. If they are elected to Parliament they must resign from teaching as the work of an M.P. is a full time one. If they are elected to local bodies they can continue teaching.

2. The Teacher and his social responsibilities outside the school

Teachers are encouraged to play a full role in society. There are no pressures to try and keep them out of public life. Within the school the teacher is free to encourage objective discussion on contemporary issues, to encourage a questioning of values and practices, although it is expected that he should not influence pupils along particular lines of action.

3. The status of the teacher as a respected and influential citizen

Teachers are accorded full status as citizens involved in helping develop social and political life. In rural areas the teacher often takes a leading part in local affairs.

4. The objective teaching of the facts of political life within the school

Teachers are encouraged to discuss political life in the ways outlined in the questionnaire and in any other ways they choose. The curriculum is determined centrally by a process which includes very full consultation with the teacher organisations and other interested groups. The curriculum provides broad guidelines only, and schools are expected to develop their own programmes within it. Schools are free to select whatever text book or resource material they wish. Teachers are not expected to present only the "official line" and teachers and students are active in the political sphere.

5. The protection of the teacher in the fulfilment of his or her rights and responsibilities

The only problems we have experienced have been related to teachers who have tended to preach particular political or religious lines of action. That is, they have found it difficult to remain objective in encouraging pupils to question established systems and practices. The organisation naturally does everything it can to help a teacher in the circumstances - including attempts to point out to the teacher the need to modify his techniques. Our organisation would certainly protest most strongly if a teacher was criticised for carrying out his normal programme as outlined earlier. Every election (local or National) there are teachers standing for election and they have had no difficulties in exercising this right.

6. Teachers and educational policy

We believe that teacher organisations should be involved in the determination and implementation of educational policy. We do this by working on the two major political parties when they are preparing their policies for the triennial parliamentary elections. Our aim is to ensure that both political parties include our own educational aims in their programmes, and we believe we have been reasonably successful in the past. Although the party programmes are not identical they are usually sufficiently inclusive to allow our policy to be implemented.

We never had to support any single line of political action to achieve results.

We certainly believe that if necessary we should take industrial action to achieve our ends. Fortunately this has never needed to go beyond the early stages of flexing muscles.

We have often attacked the Government on a particular educational issue but the public generally accept that the organisation is politically impartial in these matters. Our record shows that we have treated each party in the same way. We also have all shades of political opinion represented in our organisation and many of our members are active in the political parties. This makes our impartiality credible.

Every aspect of our policy has at some stage been the subject of behind the scenes negotiations or open confrontation.

7. Teachers and social policy in general

Our general policy is to operate exclusively on educational issues. There are plenty of other voluntary groups that a teacher could join if he wants to deal with wider issues. We have occasionally moved outside the educational field by resolution of our Annual Assembly but usually in areas that have almost complete national support, for example opposition to nuclear testing.

8. The balance between the furtherance of majority views and the benefits of unity

As explained above it has not been necessary to follow particular political action. We have stuck to educational issues to ensure that the organisation remains strong and disassociated from political extremes. We have thus limited our party political action but not our educational political action against all parties.

9. The link between syndical and political action

This has never been the issue in New Zealand. Probably because the political climate is cordial, as explained above. Our organisation leaders can privately or publicly associate with political parties without any victimisation and without weakening the organisation.

THE POSITION OF WCOTP

We now come into the area referred to in the preamble where the Institute has had little experience on "the battle field". A continuation of our own policy would support the view that WCOTP should confine its activities to educational fields rather than political fields. In the international area however, we accept that this may be very difficult. A good example would be that of Apartheid. While most people oppose Apartheid there are very strong differences of opinion about activities related to it. New Zealand has been closely concerned because of its rugby contacts with South Africa. There is the continuing argument about sporting contacts and there are organisations which actively oppose rugby tours. However, the Institute has refused to associate itself with these campaigns because we believe we would split our organisation on the issue.

Our organisation would see certain issues as quite clear e.g.

* An educational issue.
* A human rights issue, such as imprisonment without trial
* A basic rights issue concerning an organisation, such as the right to form occupational or trade union groups and the right to make representations on these matters.
* Personal rights against discrimination, such as the right to work for a teachers organisation without fear of reprisals affecting promotion, salaries, tenure etc.

Such a theoretical list is of no great help when WCOTP has to consider the effects of practical application of the principles by a teacher organisation. In this area the Institute is not sufficiently experienced to take a stand on a policy. Our representatives will be keen to learn.

NORWAY

Norsk Laererlag

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER AS AN INDIVIDUAL

1. The relationship between the part played by the teacher in political life and his or her role in the school.

Teachers are encouraged to take part freely in political life. Teachers can stand for political office locally or nationally whilst continuing to teach. They must not resign in order to stand for office. If elected to political office, locally or nationally, they can continue to teach.

2. The teacher and his social responsibilities outside the school.

Teachers are - as any other citizens - encouraged to play their role in society as members of political parties and offices locally and nationally, and they are also encouraged to take part in the work of cultural, religious, humanitarian and social organizations.

It is the responsibility of the teachers to reflect within the school the existing society, and at the same time pupils should be stimulated to think critically. Therefore the teachers should present problems and views for discussions and studies. It is a claim that issues are presented objectively and that different views are presented to the pupils.

The teachers cannot through his work within the school endeavour to change the society in the interests of the citizens of tomorrow.

3. The status of the teacher as a respected and influential citizen.

It is no responsibility of teachers to explain social and political life, or to outline problems faced by the government and prepare the pupils for future trends. This responsibility is accorded to the democratically, elected, political authorities.

4. The objective teaching of the facts of political life within the school.

Teachers are encouraged to discuss political life through social studies within the curriculum. The curriculum is centrally determined by the government and imposed on the schools.

This is done by the educational authorities but teachers have a fair say through strong representation in bodies concerned with curriculum work.

The teachers are not expected to present to the students only the official explanations of national political life. They are encouraged to engage in critical discussion with their students.

The pupils in the compulsary school in age from 7-16 are not very active in the political sphere, and do not create any problems for the teachers.

5. The protection of the teacher in the fulfilment of his or her rights and responsibilities.

The teacher cannot be dismissed unless he is involved in criminal cases or has abused his position in the school. Teachers' rights and responsibilities are regulated by legislation.

The educational authorities are passive in cases where teachers need help and protection when being critized for subjective, partial teaching although there is no evidence of such.

As far as protective measures are concerned teachers can rely on the teacher organizations only.

THE ROLE OF TEACHERS' ORGANIZATIONS - NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

6. The organization cannot overall seek political change although such change should be a necessary pre-condition of change in educational policy. It depends on which political system there is and alternatives offered. The political system should provide the right to industrial action in the form of sanctions and/or strikes, the so-called political demonstrations. Attempts to convince public opinion that the government is wrong on a particular educational

issue are not considered by the public or by the government as a direct attack on the government in general. But the public as well as the government usually have the view that the attempts and the actions in any event are meant to bring advantages for the teachers while no account is taken of the real purpose. The teachers have a strong feeling that their viewpoints are not being treated seriously and that they are met with criticism, mistrust and envy.

To counteract this public attitude we think it is necessary to intensify information about the life in school, the teachers'work, their problems and daily rhythm, etc. People must be made to understand that teachers' work represents a service to the benefit of all the society and that they need help, respect and understanding to undertake their tasks. It is our view that the educational authorities ought to take on great responsibility for information activites in this respect.

The teachers on their side must make severe demands on their own professional work, and they must themselves display responsibility and respect in their work with the pupils and their parents, in order to increase their confidence in teachers as professionals.

In the autumn 1973 our Association did for the first time decide to proclaim an open action. Teachers should stay away from school one day as a protest against the Government's proposal for the national budget for 1974. The Government invited our Association to discuss the situation and offered after some time to alter the budget proposal on three points. The talks led to the establishment of principles of vital importance to the school today and in the future.

7. Teachers and social policy in general.

We cannot give examples of issues considered to be sufficiently school-related and warranting direct action by our Association.

8. The balance between the furtherance of majority views and the benefits of unity.

Our Association has not defined the limits of its political action with either or both the objectives mentioned in mind.

9. The link between syndical and political actions.

Our Association abstains from cooperation with other political organizational forces and with political parties in particular. It is our belief that such cooperation will weaken the Association's position. However, cooperation exists between our Association and other trade unions in matters of common interest though there is no formal link with any of them. It is our wish to remain neutral and independent as a professional organization. It is though our opinion that a union of all the educational organizations in the country would strengthen and advantage the conditions of teachers and education on the whole.

THE POSITION OF WCOTP

10. Policy statements and their application.

We consider the present form of WCOTP as being the best for its political action. The ultimate aim must be "The teachers' united nations". We consider "weakened" statements acceptable to a wide variety of national organizations to be more valuable than firmer statements produced by a limited international body. So far the idea is comparable to the situation in UN.

11. Definition of "political" issues.

The "political-moral" distinction is not too vague to be workable. It is not possible to define exactly the limits of WCOTP's action.

The degree of action, the form and the statement must be valued from issue to issue. The main lines to follow must be the United Nations "Human Rights" - from the teachers point of view.

12. WCOTP support for its members.

WCOTP cannot support actions in all cases without consideration of the issues involved. On the other hand such support by WCOTP should not depend on full investigation.

The basis for WCOTP intervention in national disputes should not be more clearly defined.

The present policy ought to be continued. The important thing is to have som fundamental principles to follow in general and then value from issue to issue how to action according to the main lines.

K.L.

April 1975.

SCOTLAND

The Educational Institute of Scotland

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER AS AN INDIVIDUAL

1. The relationship between the part played by the teacher in political life and his or her role in the school

Teachers in Scotland in their private capacity as citizens can take part freely in political life, be members of a political party and speak, write and canvass for that party. They can stand for political office locally or nationally without resigning but if they wish to devote themselves full-time to an election campaign they must seek leave of absence without pay, which is normally granted. If elected to Parliament they have to give up teaching because being a Member of Parliament is a full-time job. Teachers are formally the employees of local government councils (although most of the costs of education including teachers' salaries, are met by the central Government) and they are debarred by law from standing for election to the Council of the authority which employs them. It has been the practice for some years, however, for such Councils to co-opt one or two teachers as representatives of their profession and they are elected to serve in this capacity by their fellow teachers. Under a new system of local government which is being introduced this year, regional authorities are now required by law to appoint at least two such teacher representatives to their education committee. On burgh and rural district councils, where the rule that teachers may not serve on the education committee of the authority which employs them, does not apply, many teachers serve with acceptance, often becoming provosts of their burgh.

2. The teacher and his social responsibilities ouside the school

There is a Scottish tradition of the "dominie" who not only taught but also took a leading part in running the affairs of the community and who certainly did not remain outside public life. This was in a time when certain moral standards were firmly maintained in the structure of society and the teacher accepted an obligation to inculcate these values. The certainty that this was a teacher's responsibility has now largely gone, but perhaps teachers in rural areas are less uncertain than those in large urban areas.

3. The status of the teacher as a respected and influential citizen

The status of teachers in Scotland has probably slipped a little, again more in large towns than in country villages, but there is still a remarkable degree of respect paid to the schoolmaster or mistress and they carry with them an aura of authority much as policemen or ministers did do. Thankfully, most Scottish teachers would agree, they are not involved in the evolution of national and local policy in their position as teachers, but only as ordinary citizens, and just as thankfully they leave the problems of government to the Government.

4. The objective teaching of the facts of political life within the school

In Scottish schools, especially secondary schools, social studies which probe aspects of citizenship, modern studies (which is a comprehensive term for an amalgam of elementary economics, geography and contemporary history) and political and economic history have regular places in the curriculum and debating societies, study groups, model or mock parliaments, even meetings addressed by politicians are very common as out-of-class school activities. These studies and activities are directed by the school itself as is practically all school work in Scotland. Teachers choose their own textbooks, draw up their own schemes of work, and, within reason, can criticise existing political life while maintaining a carefully objective or non-political attitude. Politics do not really obtrude in Scottish schools in the party sense and generally speaking few pupils could be described as being active politically or as creating problems in a political sense for their teachers.

5. The protection of the teacher in the fulfilment of his or her rights and responsibilities

Scottish teachers as a whole are happy to keep the atmosphere in schools as non-political as possible and there is no record in recent times of any teacher having been victimised for his political opinions and we have had no occasion to defend martyrs.

THE ROLE OF TEACHERS' ORGANISATIONS - NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

6. Teachers and educational policy

In recent years the Educational Institute of Scotland has organised industrial action in the form of sanctions in pursuit of improvement in teachers' salaries and conditions of service. As present and for the past two years it has been operating a "work to rule" campaign to protect teachers from the imposition of unreasonable working conditions or excessive workloads. It is difficult if not impossible to say whether experience in Scotland of open confrontation has proved it more effective in producing results than behind-the-scenes negotations. It could be said fairly that younger teachers favour direct action, older teachers negotation and discussion.

7. Teachers and social policy in general

As has already been indicated, teachers' organisations in Scotland tend to keep away from issues which are not strictly educational and where the Institute has expressed a view on social issues on which members tend to be divided, as for example in evidence to a committee enquiring into liquor licensing hours and the sale of alcohol, it has found itself in trouble with members who disagreed with the view expressed and thought the issue was not one on which it was appropriate for the Institute to express an opinion. But as a rule the Institute has little difficulty in deciding whether an issue is one on which it is propre for it to comment on or whether it is one on which as a non-political body it should remain silent. For example, among the issues mentioned in question 7 it has made submissions on laws affecting the employment of young people and on health services affecting schoolchildren and the teachers; and pollution, sex education, discrimination and conservation all have a place in the school curriculum. If military conscription, on the other hand, were ever to become an issue in Britain again (it was abolished here many years ago) the Institute would probably not be concerned with the political argument but only with the extent to which the interests of teachers and young prople in schools and further education colleges were affected.

8. The balance between the furtherance of majority views and the benefits of unity

It follows from what has already been stated that the Institute has never had occasion to define the limits on its political action because it takes such action only in furtherance of professional aspirations or to advance the cause of education.

9. The link between syndical and political action

The Institute is affiliated to the Scottish Trades Union Congress but otherwise has no affiliations outside the ranks of the teaching profession.

THE POSITION OF WCOTP

10. Policy statements and their application

WCOTP has to contend with the same fundamental problem that afflicts all international organisations in that it has to try to hold a balance between a host of conflicting interests and opinions. In this situation, it must either follow a clear policy line or seek refuge from every major issue by generalising all the controversy out of it and thus surviving at the price of becoming ineffectual. The Confederation must take its stand on clear cut educational and professional principles: it has no business with moral or political issues save insofar as they affect education and the professional interest of teachers.

11. Definition of "political" issues

Again we can only repeat that the Confederation's only proper concerns are to assist member organisations to protect and improve the conditions of their members and to promote the progress of education as a universal human right. Any moral or political issue which directly affects either of those aims is its legitimate concern and any issue which is not directly relevant to education or teaching, or does not impinge upon the professional interests of teachers or the right of free access to education any more than it impinges on other interests or rights is not its concern.

12. WCOTP support for its members

Member organisations are entitled to look to WCOTP for support on any issue which has an educational content. They are not entitled to look for support on other issues. Purely moral or political issues must be fought

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in a wider arena than the educational one.

In general the question underlying the whole questionnaire is, what is political? Education is directed by political forces and teachers' organisations must therefore use political means in pursuit of their aims. The essential distinction is between politics and party politics. The Educational Institute of Scotland is continuously involved in the political process in its efforts to advance the interests of education but it is careful to keep out of the party arena and in that sense it is a strictly non-political organisation. This must be so for the membership of the Institute contains men and women of all shades of political opinion in a free society and it would not only be unconstitutional but an act of folly for the Institute to align itself with any particular party and thus alienate members who supported other parties. A teacher's organisation must be politically neutral if it is to serve the interests of members justly and equitably.

But, of course, this does not debar a teacher's organisation from using political processes. In the pursuit of its aims it must seek to win support from all political parties. The institute has never encountered any serious difficulty in pursuing its aims by political processes. Most educational issues which arise in politics cut across party lines and even on the rare occasion when parties are divided on an educational issue the Institute cannot be reproached for siding with one party rather than another if its policy is informed and seen to be informed by purely educational or professional considerations.

Similarly the Institute would expect WCOTP to involve itself in international politics in pursuit of its aims or the aims of member organisatons, but a-politically. The Confederation has a duty to support affiliated organisations in defence of the human, democratic or professional rights of teachers. It should however stand aside from any dispute between affiliated organisations and national governments which are purely affairs of party political doctrine. And it should not be too difficult to draw a sharp distinction between educational and political or moral issues although it may sometimes be difficult to draw distinctions in marginal cases. For example under question 11 the Confederation gives as examples of issues on which it has been invited to take a stand, the right of people to self-determination, opposition to nuclear testing, the use of force to resolve disputes, the enforcement of minority opinion without the consent of the majority, apartheid, wars in Vietnam, Middle East and Cyprus, "intellectual genocide in Burundi" and French nuclear testing in the South Pacific. Of all these issues the only one which in our view has a clearly educational implication is apartheid which is a flagrant violation both of the professional rights of teachers in South Africa and of the rights of South African children to equal opportunities in education. We should therefore expect the Confederation to join in the universal condemnation of apartheid and indeed we were a little puzzled at the failure of the Confederation last year to align itself with other international bodies which have condemned apartheid when the subject was raised by the South African Teachers' Association at the Singapore Assembly. If the reason for failing to do so was fear that it might compromise the African teachers, we think the fear was misplaced. The African teachers displayed great courage in raising the issue at the Singapore Assembly in the way they did and their courage deserved a more forthright response. The other issues enumerated above are political and moral issues to be pursued in public or political, not professional, assemblies.

SWEDEN

Lärarnas Riksförbund (LR)
Svenska Facklärarförbundet (SFL)
Sveriges Lärarförbund (SL)

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER AS AN INDIVIDUAL

1. The relationship between the part played by the teacher in political life and his role in the school

According to the curriculum the teacher's instructions must be given in an objective way, i.e. be balanced and based on facts. The teacher has, however, no obligation to give up political activities or refrain from expressing personal political opinions. He is only prevented from making propaganda for his political ideas in his teaching. There is no actual encouragement towards the teachers to take part in political life, but, on the other hand, there are no obstacles nor difficulties for a teacher, who wishes to work with politics. A teacher might by all means stand for office in a political election, and still remain a teacher. If a teacher considers that he needs to take leave to engage himself in a political campaign, this is a personal matter. If a teacher is elected to a political office, the extent of this decides if he can go on working. The assignment might take such a lot of time, that it is impossible for the teacher to continue his teaching. In such a situation the teacher has an unconditional right to be released from his teaching duties.

2. The teacher and his social responsibilities outside the school

School is part of the society and to be successful in developing the students into positive citizens, it must impart knowledge about society and strengthen the students' feelings of being part of it.

A teacher who benefits his school work by important experiences through engagements in activities outside the school, must be encouraged.

School must give the students good knowledge about the society of which the school is part, but this is only one aspect of its tasks. Society is changing rapidly, and the school must arouse the students' interests in active work for social development. The school cannot exist in an ivory tower of its own. Instead it must teach pupils to adjust to the changes that are taking place e.g. in the labour market and in the field of education itself. The young people who attend school today are the citizens of tomorrow. This means that the school system should not only move with the times but keep one step ahead of them..

3. The status of the teacher as a respected and influential citizen

The important basis for every country's development and progress is the quality of the educational system. A highly qualified educational system requires well-educated staff of the schools, teachers as well as other categories. Further there is a demand for substantial and economic resources to make quicker progress of the whole society and the country. In Sweden the basis of the educational system with regard to the organising of and general outline for the teaching (curriculum including time-tables) is decided by Parliament. The total aim of the school work is stated in the first paragraph of the School Law, which reads: "The purpose of the education given to children and young people by the community is to impart knowledge and train skills, and in co-operation with their homes to promote the development of pupils to harmonious individuals and useful and responsible members of society".

The teacher's role in this work can hardly be exaggerated. A teacher should impart to the students the intentions of the curriculum, carry out these and get them accepted by the students. This task also includes a responsibility to explain and analyse the social, economic and political life of the country. Thus the teacher should clearly point out the different problems in the society and discuss with the students various alternatives and try to solve these problems. The importance and volume of these tasks could be expected to guarantee the teacher high status and appreciation, connected with generous allotment of means for the carrying out of the work. The teachers agree with the total aim of the school work. The difference between the aims stated by the curriculum and what the teacher considers achieved during the daily work puts him, however, in a very different working position.

4. The objective teaching of the facts of political life within the school

The curriculum of the Swedish school is made up centrally and laid down by Parliament. Teacher representatives have taken part in the work of forming the curriculum, and have played an important role in the framing of subjects and methods. The total aim and evaluation have been framed by political bodies, based on general political considerations. The curriculum includes specifications of different basic elements and part elements for each stage and subject. The teacher has no right to leave out any basic element. He is, however, free to decide in co-operation with the students, to what extent the basic element should be studied. Furthermore, a teacher is free to use textbooks in a way that suits the students and his teaching methods.

There are special subjects covering the information and teaching of political life, as well as the possibility to give such information in a general way. The subject of civics covers all of the national political activities. The instructions to the teachers are clearly stating that the presentation should be given in a way that encourages the students to discuss and debate the subject, and to look upon the activities of the political parties with critical and analyzing eyes. There is no check-up of this presentation, but every teacher is compelled to work it out, based on the instructions of the curriculum.

Outside the school subjects a number of activities can be arranged on special study days, through study visits or by visiting lecturers. On such occasions political discussions can be arranged with invited representatives from different political parties, including panel questioning, and programmes like school elections, etc. When arranging such programmes the school has the responsibility to avoid a one-sided representation, and to make sure that different political opinions are expressed.

During the 1960-ties the political activities among the students began to be noticeable, and existing student organisations were more active than before, and got an increased political profile. At the same time new student organisations were established. The increased political activity was most clearly expressed in universities and colleges, but was also noticeable in primary and secondary schools.

5. The protection of the teacher in the fulfillment of his rights and responsibilities

In his work a teacher is exposed to pressure and close interest from different groups in the society. This can easily result in a conflict situation. To give an example, the theory of evolution was strongly questioned - on religious grounds - by the parents in a district. Requests were made that the teacher should abandon the curriculum. In this case and in similar cases it is a matter of course that the teachers' organisations support the members' rights with emphasis. The authorities are also supporting the teachers in cases as related above.

THE ROLE OF TEACHERS' ORGANISATIONS - NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

6. Teachers and educational policy

As a matter of course teachers' organisations are involved in the preparation of decisions to be made on educational policy, and they try to influence the decisions. The organisations can also take the initiative. The result of this involvement is often that the teachers' organisations agree with the parliamentary decision. This process is a natural way of the work of the organisations to protect the interest of the members.

There are of course occasions when the authorities for different reasons do not take the opinions of the teachers' organisations into consideration. If a decision made by one authority is accepted by Parliament and laws are passed accordingly, these laws must be respected. Parliament has then made the decision based on a more comprehensive view, and it is hardly reasonable that one occupational branch should refuse to accept it. To conclude, we principally believe that no steps should be taken by the trade union after final decision by Parliament. A principal matter of educational policy should be discussed by the teachers' organisations before the final decision is made by Parliament. We find it most appropriate that the organisations in different ways try to influence the politicians by delegations, letters expressing opinions and personal contacts. It is considered absolutely natural that the teachers' organisations take such steps and is not looked upon as any attack on the government.

The development of Swedish labour legislation has tended to strengthen the position of the employee organisations in recent years. The negotiable area for the organisations has expanded to include more than bargaining for salaries and employment conditions. The teachers' organisations contributed to this process by forming actual demands. These demands implied increased rights to negotiate about how to lead and allocate the work at school.

Claims has further been made for the organizing of groups with representatives for both employers and employees on the local level and with authority to decide on matters which today are settled solely by the local school board and to a high extent affect the teachers' situation. Furthermore, there is a request for a teacher representation on the politically elected school boards. The purpose of this request is not to influence the political power balance but to settle the fact that the teachers' organisations in the public sector should be granted the same status as employees in the private sector.

7. Teachers and social policy in general

The teachers' organisations exert an influence on the educational policy, as well as on the framing of the total society through their umbrella organisations. Working groups discuss and draw up various manifestos which are guiding the attitude of the organisations, covering for example family policy, social policy and personnel policy. Through the distribution of these manifestos to the press and other mass media, groups outside the actual teaching profession will be influenced to some degree.

8. The balance between the furtherance of majority views and the benefits of unity

This depends on the importance of the issue for the members. There is no general answer to this problem. If the issue is of vital importance for the organisation there must be an almost total unity within the organisation.

9. The link between syndical and political action

Our organisations are politically and religiously independent but among the members there are teachers engaged in all political parties. This means that there are no formal demands that persons in leading positions cannot or must not belong to a political party or any other established organisation. Our organisations therefore include members in principal positions who are connected to political parties. The trade union agitation must, however, be made in the trade union way and be independent of party politics.

THE POSITION OF WCOTP

10. Policy statements and their application

We regard the present outlinings of WCOTP as the most acceptable. It is important to have a common association of as comprehensive a nature as possible. A joint statement given by a big assembly guarantees that no rushed decisions are made, avoids influence by occasional flares of opinion, and, at the same time, as the united power of many countries it gives a respectability to the statement given.

11. Definition of "political" issues

The development described in the first part of the question is not a happy one. To slowly widen the idea of "political" to become "moral" is hardly a way to go. It will doubtless lead to conflict between different associates. There is no certain way of avoiding these difficulties as many associates might consider this as a letting-down. One possibility is to use the same methods as the United Nations do and to support actions in line with the UN's general objects. Such actions should on the other hand only work as some kind of an echo, and can hardly intensify the effect.

To us it seems more accurate that WCOTP returns to the extremely restrictive system and limits statements to the teaching profession where WCOTP is an expert organisation. If WCOTP as trade union organisation for teachers puts aside all matters outside those of direct concern for teachers as professionals and employees, a limitation could be carried through. It is necessary to take such a limitation with the increasing tasks of the teacher trade union in mind. WCOTP has not got sufficient time granted to work intensively for the improvement of the teachers' situation and to work comprehensively and generally to solve the great political problems of the world simultaneously.

12. WCOTP support for its members

The teachers' situation in a country is naturally best known by their own teachers' organisations. Surely every trade union makes thorough investigations of all possibilities within the nation to solve arising problems. It is when a solution cannot be reached, or when it is clear that there is no understanding for such attempts that the organisation can turn to its international organisation in order to gain support and to stress the claims, etc. It seems hardly necessary for WCOTP in such cases to investigate further about the justification of the request for support. Before any intervention is made WCOTP should of course get detailed and reliable information of the situation..

Concerning previous WCOTP interventions the action taken are well understood as regards the methods. It is, however, extremely important to establish a firmer and more precise basis for future WCOTP interventions. To have an exact definition of a situation where WCOTP automatically steps into action would simplify matters for the associated member organisations. A standard framing of the dealing with these problems would be appreciated.

The nature of WCOTP as a trade union should be confirmed and clearly stated in the constitution.

We cannot, however, remember any occasion when WCOTP has exceeded the limits of its jurisdiction, neither give any example when the organisation has wrongly declined an action of support.

UNITED STATES

National Education Association

Introduction

The traditional and historical role of teachers has undergone major changes. One of the most noticeable changes has been active involvement of teachers in the political process.

Teachers have learned that every major decision for education is a political decision. They have learned that it is through involvement in the political arena that success is achieved. Idealism alone does not provide sufficient votes at any level of government to enact the legislation required to obtain the goals and fund teachers seek for a better educational program.

Teachers are no longer reluctant to assume a participatory role as a powerful pressure group in the political process to influence the passage of legislation which they seek.

The changed behavior pattern resulted from the many frustrations encountered to meet the needs of education in a rapidly changing society. It became apparent to the membership and leadership that viability as a political entity was one of the significant solutions to this problem.

Teachers, regardless of party affiliation, became activists in the political world. They served in the many required activities necessary to help win elections. They helped with voter registration drives; they worked telephone banks, served as clerks, election supervisors, held coffee klatches; knocked on doors, conducted fund drives, served as researchers; studied the demographics of voting districts; identified voter support; identified the opponents and the undecided voters and worked the polls on election day to get out the vote. They are expanding in knowledge and strength. They recongize that they possess one of the best natural networks in the political system. Teachers are located in every precinct and those who aspire to become elected to office recognize this fact.

In 1972 an independent political action arm of teachers called the National Education Association Political Action Committee (NEA-PAC) was created. NEA-PAC is the national teacher political action committee dedicated to the election of candidates for national office who are proven or deemed to be friends of education. NEA-PAC's function is to give money and endorsement to candidates for national office who have been selected by NEA and the candidate's resident state association.

By 1974 the degree of involvement by teachers was much greater. NEA-PAC endorsed 310 candidates for seats in the US House of Representatives and the US Senate. Of the 282 endorsed candidates for seats in the US House of Representatives 229 won. Included in these victories were 26 candidates who defeated incumbents and 33 successes out of 43 for "open seats." These are seats in which no incumbent was a candidate. For the US Senate teachers endorsed 28 candidates and were successful in 21 of these contests. One race is still undecided. The overall winning percentage was 81 %.

NEA-PAC a comparative novice in the big-time political arena, topped all other major national political action committees that endorsed congressional candidates in the 1974 general elections. This was an achievement noted by politicians and the news media around the country.

Teacher educational political action committees supported candidates in national, state and local races. Teachers are now a recognized power in national, state and local politics. The teachers provided tens of thousands of volunteers to assist endorsed candidates achieve victory. The teacher successes in the statewide and local races were remarkable.

Teachers are now putting this effort to work by following their election victories with continuous contact with the legislators as bills move through the legislative halls. Since 1972, significant legislative victories have been won at the local, state and national levels. The political influence of teachers is growing.

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER AS AN INDIVIDUAL

1. The relationship between the part played by the teacher in political life and his or her role in the school

Teachers in general are encouraged to take part freely in the political life of the community, the state and the nation.

The teacher's role in the classroom must be objective and free from any form of "indoctrination" in the teaching-learning process. There should not be any proselytizing involved between the teacher and the student.

As teachers become increasingly active in the political life of the community, there will be some accusations and/or charges made by those who are not being supported by an organisation of teachers. This is true historically.

All campaigning by teachers must be outside the school and not during school hours.

Teachers as citizens received opposition in some geographic areas when they became active politically. This was not unexpected and in a number of instances litigation became necessary to prove that teachers, as public employees, could actively participate in the political process, i.e. as office seekers, as citizens campaigning to elect potential office holders, and as office holders.

The NEA counsel, Robert Chaning, has prepared a monograph entitled "The Right of a Teacher to Hold Elected Office." The courts have ruled "public employees cannot be 'relegated to a watered-down version of constitutional rights' solely because they are public employees," or

> "Equally manifest as a fundamental principle of a democratic society is political freedom of the individual. Our form of government is built on the premise that every citizen shall have the right to engage in political expression and association. This right was enshrined in the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights."

As Mr. Chaning states, "the right to engage in political activity is the essence of representative government, and an essential ingredient in the process of representative government is the right to hold elected office." However, the need "to protect the individual rights of teachers and all other public employees against improper interference by government has become, and promises to remain, a major area of legal concern."

Teachers as part of an organisation are more concerned with their ability to coalesce and support a candidate regardless of political affiliation. Their focus is not to achieve control of a legislative body through the process of electing large numbers of teachers to elective positions. A number of teachers will seek political office and in some instances organizational teacher support will be forthcoming while in some instances this will not be true.

The teacher office-seekers and/or office holders are confronted with varying conditions when their role of educators is assessed. In a number of states they can retain their elective positions and continue with their teaching activities. In some instances leaves without pay can be obtained. In other cases the time involved with the elective position is such that very little teaching time is lost. With some elective posts resignations from the teaching profession are desirable because of the extensive time requirements of the political positions. The teacher office-seeker must make a thorough analysis of the responsibilities required in the political office which is sought in order that possible difficulties are eliminated. The restrictions on the teacher office-seeker should be quite apparent by a thorough understanding of the time requirements mandated by the office sought.

2. The teacher and his social responsibilities outside the school

As teachers became increasingly active in the political arena there was an effort for other segments of society to "single out" this group and scrutinize its other activities. Once again it is important for teachers to disassociate their activities outside the classroom from within the school itself. Teachers are encouraged to assume roles as leaders and followers in the process of providing social change.

Teachers must be objective in their classrooms and not attempt to impose upon the students their personal philosophy. That is not to say that a teacher cannot indicate to students a personal opinion and indicate that other opinions about the same topic are held by others.

Teachers are also agents of changes. Teachers were in the forefront of the efforts to grant all citizens the fundamental human rights, have participated in marches, in demonstrations, in order to bring about changes. Outside the classroom teachers have been active in all sectors of American society. Indoctrination is not independence. Teachers are encouraged to participate in public life; they must be able to tolerate opinions with which they disagree.

3. The status of the teacher as a respected and influential citizen

Schools are located in every community in the nation. Teachers, then, are in a position to command a great deal of influence in the political and social process. This does not mean that the education profession controls or manipulates the citizenry in its geographic areas. In the United States there is no national system of education and no control over education. There is no national curriculum. Education is the responsibility of each state. The teacher's greatest influence is at the local level, then at the state, and lastly, at the national level.

Teachers have the ability to deal with social issues and politics within the school in an objective manner. There have been confrontations in communities which have been divided over the type of textbooks which are in use in a number of schools. These confrontations create conditions within a community which result in extensive media coverage, and other communities become engaged in similar activities. Teachers are involved in the solutions to these problems. Teachers are respected individuals in their communities. They generally are accepted with respect as an organisation. One must, at the same time recognize the negative tenor of the community which occasionally occurs when the citizens are not in agreement with a number of goals sought by the teacher organisations or when an individual teacher is involved in a situation which creates community-wide awareness and discontent.

Governments normally resist influence from non-governmental groups. Teachers, through their organisations, are becoming more actively involved in determining policy matters on those areas which affect them as teachers. As negotiations with governmental authorities become more prevalent, teachers believe that everything is negotiable. As they become more influential and respected, they also lose some of the charisma they once held. But influence and power are more beneficial and productive than charisma.

4. The objective teaching of the facts of political life within the school

Legislation to provide teachers with collective bargaining rights has been achieved in about 29 states. The language varies from state to state; however, several of these laws provide the right to strike to resolve impasses, after following a carefully constructed procedure in the bargaining process.

Teachers should be actively involved in the political process. Among other things, they should be informed. With the great number and easy access to periodicals, magazines and radio and television programmes, it is almost impossible to escape information on the political life of the community, the state and the nation. The freedom of the press and other news media, coupled with the investigative reporting techniques, makes political life common knowledge.

Discussion of events takes place from the early elementary years. It becomes more involved as the student goes up the academic ladder. Avoidance of discussion of political events is almost an impossibility. High schools have courses such as "current problems", "problems in American democracy", etc. The freedom to discuss political events is taken for granted.

Students do work with political parties, certain candidates, etc.

The tradition exists that students and teachers may disagree, and often do, on political issues. The one caveat is that the teacher's own viewpoint must not be the only viewpoint. While it may cause problems in some few areas, it is not a problem generally.

Eighteen year old have the right to vote.

There is no national curriculum. States are in control of education. The states establish basic areas to be studied. The local districts, with teacher involvement, establish the type of courses.

Textbooks are state adopted. There is more than one book adopted for a course. Many school districts use other textbooks and supplementing materials. No one forces a teacher to use a specific textbook, particularly in the area of social studies and politics.

Teachers do not present the official explanations, since there are generally no real official explanations. Critical discussions within the social studies are quite common.

In situations where it is apparent that governmental action is improper, the educational forces or coalitions will band together to either obtain legislative or judicial relief. This has been accomplished in numbers of instances.

As teacher organisations become more sophisticated in the political operations and/or their credibility as a political force becomes recognized, they are in fact able to obtain required changes with governmental agencies and legislative bodies.

5. The protection of the teacher in the fulfillment of his or her rights and responsibilities

Teachers in the United States have freedom of expression. The NEA considers the protection of the rights of teachers an important duty. The protection of the teacher is one of the major goals of the NEA and its affiliates.

The NEA has actively supported litigation to ensure constitutional protection for educators as they pursue the following kinds of citizen activities:

- Organizing associations and political groups
- Negotiating collective bargaining agreements

- Petitioning officials for redress of grievances
- Campaigning for election to public office
- Assuming public office
- Working in voter registration drives and other civil rights activities
- Taking independent positions which may not agree with those of school boards or administrators on educational matters, including tax levies, fiscal policies, or status of an educational institution
- Writing and speaking on matters of public concern

Following are several examples of successful defense of teacher educators:

A former history teacher at a junior college in Utah was awarded $19,000 in damages when a federal court held that his failure to gain tenure status was reprisal for having supported a particular candidate in a state political contest and for having opposed the college administration as a leader of his faculty association.

A temporary restraining order returned a Mississippi assistant principal to his position after his contract had not been renewed. An unsuccessful candidate for state senator who criticized waste and graft in education and the county government, the educator filed federal suit, alleging that his nonrenewal "was in reprisal for his political activity and his exercise of free speech".

A West Virginia art teacher was denied a fourth contract despite recommendations from his superintendent and principal, allegedly because of his association and community activities, including criticism of the board's hiring practices, support of two successful candidates for the school board, and 1970 involvement in a WVEA investigation of the school system. An adverse district court ruling is now on appeal.

Fourteen Oklahoma College of Liberal Arts faculty members were nonrenewed because they criticized the administration and refrained from associating with the President of the college. The 10th circuit court upheld the faculty on First Amendment grounds, and the US Supreme Court has declined consideration of the college's appeal.

A Missouri teacher, nonrenewed for association activity, including negotiating, has won reinstatement and $38,000. The US Court of Appeals for the 8th Circuit had previously concluded that his report concerning his school district's capacity to raise teacher salaries was protected within constitutional standards.

A Mississippi teacher challenged her nonrenewal for failure to meet minimum score on the National Teacher Examination. After the court awarded her back pay and reinstatement she was fired, in reprisal for having initiated the first suit. A federal courts, calling for reinstatement, awarded her $13,000.

The NEA Defense Fund has taken an active role in pursuing litigation on a wide variety of free expression issues, including the right to academic freedom in the classroom

THE ROLE OF TEACHERS' ORGANISATIONS - NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

6. Teachers and educational policy

The United States has no national system of education and no real national policy on education. Education is a state and local responsibility.

Teacher organisations are not hesitant to strike if this is the only way to achieve important objectives, although strikes by teachers are generally illegal. Strikes are a last resort action.

Teacher organisations are constantly informing the public relative to basic educational problems. The NEA maintains a department of press, radio and television in order to place the association's programmes and ideas in front of the public.

Since funds for education are supplied by government, and teacher organisations know that adequate funds are necessary for a good educational programme, confrontations and disputes with government are part of the democratic process under which we operate. Great use is made of the press, radio and television. Disputes with government are common in all phases of society, so that the fact that teacher organisations disagree strongly with government is not seen as anything abnormal.

The most effective way to change national policy is through influence in the political process.

7. Teachers and social policy in general

Almost every issue affects education. The National Education Association takes positions on social, economic and political issues.

When it was not popular to do so, the NEA adopted a position condemning US involvement in the Vietnam war; NEA has opposed the appointment of certain supreme court justices. The NEA has taken positions on practically every issue facing the American people. Schools and teachers are representatives of society and almost everything affects children, schools and teachers.

To oppose what we believe is wrong and to uphold what we believe is good is a normal activity of the NEA.

Major positions are adopted yearly by a delegate assembly of about 10,000 delegates. It is an accepted axiom that the majority view prevails. The minority group always has the opportunity to become the majority if its arguments are convincing enough. Many times minority positions have later become the majority positions.

8. The balance between the furtherance of majority views and the benefits of unity

The problem of balance within the organisation based upon the pursuit of majority views and the effect on the organisation because of some differences of opinion is an important question. The lack of adequate communication and a lack of understanding about organisational process in decision making can be a problem. In some cases the problem is the result of philosophical differences. In this instance continuous interaction becomes important. However, the programme of the majority is implemented whenever possible.

When the process of decision making is understood, it is accepted that the view of the majority prevails. Minority positions in time may become majority decisions. However, the opportunity for debate and continuous dialogue must be preserved. The rights of the minority are always protected.

9. The link between teacher organisations and political action

Lines of communication are sought with leaders and workers in political parties. Our functioning process as a political organisation is such that we are not to be labeled as an extension of any political party. Our best effort, then, is to work with party members and other organisations when we support common candidates. It is through this operational procedure that rapport is established and the legislative programme of the organisation is advanced. Bipartisanship is essential and continuous efforts are made to achieve this goal. Internally it promotes a better understanding among members. It tends to diminish any partisan association from surfacing.

Coalitions with other like-minded organisations are beneficial and necessary. Experience shows that identification of other groups with similar goals is extremely helpful because the tasks required in the political and legislative areas require a strong power base. A power base is much more effective when one's strength is multiplied. We have been very successful with other group alliances and will continue to expand in this area.

We support candidates and/or oppose candidates from both political parties. The person, not the party, receives the support.

Our members are about equally divided among the two major political parties.

THE POSITION OF WCOTP

10. Policy statements and their application

Teachers in the United States are privileged in that they have great political freedom and freedom of expression. The NEA does not expect that its positions on issues will be accepted by all teacher organisations. At the same time, the NEA does not become disturbed because statements are made with which it does not agree.

The NEA will endorse those policy statements with which it agrees. These include individual rights and liberties; the rights of all peoples to determine their own destinies; the rights of academic freedom, freedom of association, freedom of speech; justic for all; opposition to all dictatorships, whether on the right or the left; opposition to one man rule, military or civilian; opposition to all forms of discrimination, especially discrimination by race, sex, religion, national origin. The NEA supports the basic and legal rigth of education for all.

11. Definition of "political" issues

There are certain basic beliefs of NEA (as listed in question 10 above).

12. WCOTP support for its members

The WCOTP secretariat can circulate statements received from members in major international issues. The NEA may or may not agree with these statements.

If the majority of the assembly adopts a statement or a position on any issue, then it is the position of WCOTP. The NEA may or may not agree with the action taken, but that is part of the democratic process.

YUGOSLAVIA

Trade Union of Civil Workers

Introduction

In order for adequate understanding, comprehension and acceptance of this report, certain knowledge concerning some basic premises of the Yugoslav self-management socialist society is necessary:

1. The entire organisation and functioning of the socio-political life in Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is based on social ownership of the means of production.

2. The principal production relationship is the self-managing socialist production relationship.

3. The Constitution consistently derives our political system and all its institutions from the established socio-economic relations.

4. Socio-political organisations such as the Trade Unions, the Association of Socialist Youth, the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia and others represent an integral part of the socio-political system and on the principle of self-managing democracy work on further building up and realisation of democratic self-managing socialist relations.

Therefore, our trade union of which teachers, lecturers and professors are members, is also part of all progressive forces of the society striving to achieve the socialist goals of our society.

5. The power belongs to the working class and working people and they manage all social reproduction affairs through their basic organisations of associated labour* and delegates in the self-management organs and assemblies.

6. The Constitution determines the regulation of relations in the multinational Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as well as the responsibility of the Republics and Provinces for their own socialist development and the socialist development of Yugoslavia as the union of equal peoples and nationalities.

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* Basic organisation of associated labour (OOUR) represents the basic form of associated labour in which the workers directly and with equal rights realise their socio-economic and other self-managing rights and decide on all other questions concerning their socio-economic position.

In the field of the education and upbringing the basic organisation of the associated labour represents the pedagogical-educational entity which is responsible and independent in the realisation of the educational plan and program and the entire educational-upbringing process. This may be the school or a number of schools forming the organisation of associated labour (composite organisation).

7. The Constitution represents a comprehensive programme of further socialist development and transformation of Yugoslav society (framework and guidelines for the development of self-management, direction of further emancipation of labour and working class, deepening of brotherhood and unity and equality of peoples and nationalities).

8. Education and upbringing in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has workers', class and human character.

9. Marxism as the materialist-dialectic viewpoint of the world, as a general scientific method, revolutionary theory and practice, ideology of the working class and the ideological basis of the self-managing socialism - permeates the content and practice of our socialist education and upbringing, not only as a separate programme but also as a method of thinking, explanation and transformation of appearances, etc.

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER AS AN INDIVIDUAL

1. The relationship between the part played by the teacher in political life and his or her role in the school

In keeping with the Constitution of the SFR Yugoslavia the teacher has all the civic and personal rights as all other citizens who are not teachers. However, in Yugoslavia there exists no divergence between the objective work of the teacher and his constitutional rights in his role as citizen. That is, the teachers in Socialist Yugoslavia are in majority interested and motivated to be active, i.e. to participate in the socio-political life. The system of the self-managing socialist relations in the socialist Yugoslavia incites the teachers to take an active part in political life and there are no restrictions whatsoever in this respect. The teacher is one of the bearers and active participants in the entire system of political and social decision-making.

It is necessary to point out here that teachers may be elected or nominated to various socio-political functions (in assembly bodies or socio-political organisations) both in a professional or voluntary capacity.

If they are elected or nominated to some function in the professional capacity they receive pay for this position and are objectively discontinuing teaching during the term of their mandate.

We have to point out here that the political functions in our country are limited in time and that the rotation principle is strictly implemented. This means that each teacher after the completion of one or two terms in the duration of four, i.e. eight years, has the right to return to work to the same organisation of associated labour, that is to his working community, to his previous working post or some other working post corresponsding to his ability and qualifications after the end of his term.

If the teachers are elected in a voluntary capacity they continue to work as teachers in their school and have no difficulty in continuing with their work.

2. The teacher and his social responsibilities outside the school

The organisation and functioning of the socio-political life and socialist self-managing relations in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia enable, incite and stimulate the teachers to play a significant role in society through the various forms of organisation and work in professional or humanitarian associations or through the socio-political organisations.

Our self-management socialist development does not recognise any dogmas or freezing of any relationships and its basic aim is the constant change, improvement and building up of such relationships in the interest of working people of today and tomorrow and of further development of the self-management socialist relations. The teacher has the right and obligation to consider critically our self-management socialist practice, to participate actively in its construction and improvement, to work and strive for our self-managing socialist targets and directions of development and to transfer all this through various forms and methods of work on his pupil and the environment in which he works.

Also the self-management nature of education and upbringing, organic and functional linkage of all parts of associated labour and education within the unique system of associated labour, enable each teacher to play an active role in the social reproduction, in the faster development of production forces and socialist production relations, as basic guidelines for social activity in Yugoslavia.

The teachers are striving and working both in and outside their school for the realisation of our self-managing socialist aims and directions of development.

Our trade union therefore stimulates and encourages the teachers to be active social workers outside the schools as well.

3. The status of the teacher as a respected and influential citizen

Teachers have to analyse critically and explain the social and political life and to prepare for future trends. They are accorded the respect needed to fulfill this role effectively. Teachers are realising this on the basis of the Marxist scientific understanding of the world. Dialectical Marxist consideration of the world represents in our country, in fact, the scientific viewpoint of the world. The study of Marxism enables the formation of the personality able to act in its profession and in its social activity in a qualified manner, objectively critical and to make a distinction between the essential and unimportant, to see the connection and mutual interlinking of opposite or apparently opposite phenomena. For the successful realisation of these high aims the personality of the teacher represents an important relevant factor. Therefore the moral attributes of the teacher are considered to be an integral part of the teacher's personality, together with his educational and professional scientific qualities. The level of respect accorded to the teacher depends on all this.

4. The objective teaching of the facts of political life within the school

We have already said that the educational-upbringing activity in our schools is based on the marxist-dialectical viewpoint of the world. Therefore the teachers in Yugoslavia engage decisively, critically, creatively and skillfully in the programme of ideological-political and educational activities in all institutions responsible for professional education and formation of the personality.

The situation is as follows in respect to the programme :the educational-pedagogical institutions (as professional-pedagogical services) of the Republics and Provinces (there are eight of them) in cooperation with the professional associations of teachers (philologues, historians, geographers, biologists, mathematicians, pedagogues, etc.) prepare the concepts of the educational plans and programs for individual types and levels of education and forward them to the Republican and Provincial educational councils. The members of these councils are prominent scientific-pedagogical workers in the field of educational and pedagogical practice.

The councils prepare the draft of the educational plan and programme and present it for public discussion among educational and other workers.

In the case of guided education (youth from 15 to 23 years: secondary, higher and high schools and faculties) the working people in the field of economic and social services as the users of the corresponding staff are asked to give their opinion as well about the programme proposed.

Suggestions, opinions, remarks and proposals put out in the public discussion are considered at the session of the educational councils of the Republics or Provinces after which the decision concerning the adoption of the programme is passed, i.e. the framework of the educational plan curricula and programme is adopted. Such plan represents a joint basis for the realisation of the specified educational matter.

However, educational plans and programs in all Republics and Provinces may be extended by interesting proposals in individual fields and for individual problems of economy or social services.

The framework educational plans and programmes passed by the educational councils offer further possibility to the collectives of teachers to work out for themselves the way and form of the realisation of the programme in individual fields.

Each teacher is enabled through the professional associations and professional organisation in the school and other organised forms to participate in all stages of the programme evolution until its realisation.

The Republican and Provincial Secretariats for Education (ministries) recommend a fairly large list of textbooks for each subject. However, final selection of the textbook is made by the teacher himslef or, if several teachers lecture on the same subject, by the group of teachers.

The pupils actively participate in political life through various forms of organisation and activities. They have their own youth organisation in all school institutions of secondary, high and higher education, and in some schools even in higher classes of primary schools.

Such activity is based on objective needs of the social development. Activities are permeated with methods of Marxist analysis of the society and dialectic-materialist consideration of the world because the plans and curricula and all other educational content are based on such ideology.

5. The protection of the teacher in the fulfilment of his or her rights and responsibilities

In our country the responsibility of the teacher as an educator and his responsibility as a citizen do not collide. In point of fact the position and responsibility of the educator are regulated by the self-management agreements in the basic organisation of the associated labour (the school) and as a citizen the teacher is entitled to all constitutional rights on the basis of which the social compacts and self-management agreements regulating the position of educators are passed.

THE ROLE OF TEACHERS' ORGANISATIONS - NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

6. Teachers and educational policy

Syndical action should be as broad and as intensive as possible and to reflect the desires, disposition and interests of its membership. In our conditions, syndical action is based on the entire programme orientation of the society in respect to the aims, tactics, strategy and means for the realisation of these targets. Under such conditions our Trade Union is in a position to realise the interests and demands of its members in direct cooperation and greement with other social factors - so that strikes are not necessary. However, strikes are not prohibited by the Constitution.

In view of the answers given under previous headings, it is our viewpoint that antagonism between the competences of the Government and Trade Union does not exist in regard the education. However, the confrontation of opinions and disagreements are possible on some educational questions. Joint attitudes are reached through the agreement and adjustment of various opinions.

We have to point out again that our Trade Union represents an integral part of the socio-political system and as such it is responsible for the building up of the socio-political and socio-economic relations, particularly when the trade union represents the profession in relation to the entire associated labour.

Under conditions of democratisation of education and delegational system, as it exists in Yugoslavia, such confrontations are not common. Behind-the-scenes negotiations cannot represent an effective means of political action.

7. Teachers and social policy in general

Our Trade Union has undertaken a number of actions for the purpose of: drafting social policy, its adequate realisation in practice, such as: solving of housing problem of educational workers, difficult conditions of work, working conditions of teachers, rendering of various types of assitance to teachers in need of financial aid, to teachers who have suffered some elemental catastrophy and also various types of assistance to children whose parents are in a bad material position and the like. Such humanitarian and social actions have always been accepted with great approval of all factors in the society.

8. The balance between the furtherance of majority views and the benefits of unity

Our organisation is organised in such a way that in each school there exists a basic syndicate cell - basic syndical organisation. At the municipal level the trade union boards act independently as integral parts of the Federal Trade Union, and also on the Republican and Provincial levels. At the level of the Federation (SFRY) our Trade Union is constituted on parity principle from the representatives of the Republics and Provinces. In this way full egality, solidarity, mutuality and interlinking is achieved. Our organisation acts on the basis of planned and programmed tasks. There exist no restrictions whatsoever in this respect. The relationship between the majority and minority is solved in such a way that outvoting has been abolished and the principle of agreement and adjustment of attitudes has been adopted. Therefore there exists no need for any restrictions.

9. The link between syndical and political action

In previous headings we have discussed the social position of the socio-political organisations and our Trade Union. Our syndical organisation is a class organisation of the working class and represents the factor of its internal power, for the purpose of achieving concrete historical goals. The Trade Union acts on the basis of the programme for realisation of the decisive role of workers in the management of the social reproduction.

There is no leadership problem in Yugoslavia. Our organisation cooperates on equal terms and with equal rights with all the above mentioned socio-political organisation and this cooperation is very significant for more efficient solution of joint problems and carrying out of mutual tasks.

THE POSITION OF WCOTP

The international activity and the role of our organisation in syndical movements in the world is closely linked with the international position of our country. Yugoslavia is a non-aligned country. Consistency in the realisation of independent self-management socialist development, complete unity of our working class and all peoples and nations are essential factors in this position.

The contemporary socio-economic development imposes increasing linkage and inter-dependence in the world. All this imposes efforts to be made in overcoming international division of syndicates of educational workers in order that they may become active bearers in the finding of an answer to all the more complex appearances.

The interlinking of our self-management society with the world and traditional international solidarity of our working class and educational workers impose the obligation upon our organisation to include itself effectively in the efforts for widening cooperation.

Every cooperation based on the principles of equality, mutual respect and right of each organisation to decide independently on its policy and action, regardless of its strength and size is acceptable to us.

We are and remain open and prepared to cooperate on the above principles.

Our Trade Union will continue to assist and support in an adequate manner the syndical organisations of the liberation movements and in developing countries where there exist difficulties in the development of syndical activity, as well as in the countries with no democratic or syndical freedom.

WCOTP is an international professional organisation of teachers. It should unite in its ranks all the national organisations of educational workers which have such a desire and which in political activity and practical action strive and fight against racial, national and every other discrimination, as well as against colonialism and terrorism.

No organisation which is not fighting in its country and elsewhere against these manifestations should be a member of WCOTP.

This means that WCOTP should support without reserve all those who defend their freedom, and fight against imperialistic and neocolonialist attack and for the independence, full emancipation and social progress.

10. Policy statements and their application

WCOTP may take its own stand concerning various pedagogical and professional questions in education, but should not interfere with the competence of individual countries and their educational policy. Most acceptable attitudes would be the attitudes which are the result of the adjustment of various views without domination.

11. Definition of "political" issues

The distinction between "political" and "moral" in some cases is not defined and it is difficult to make such a distinction and therefore WCOTP should in all situations of concern for many or all factors act regardless of how such factors will be affected politically or morally.

12. WCOTP support for its members

WCOTP should give its support after full investigation of each case. It may condemn the manifestations which lead to any form of discrimination in the form of an appeal or proclamation but should not engage in direct interventions.